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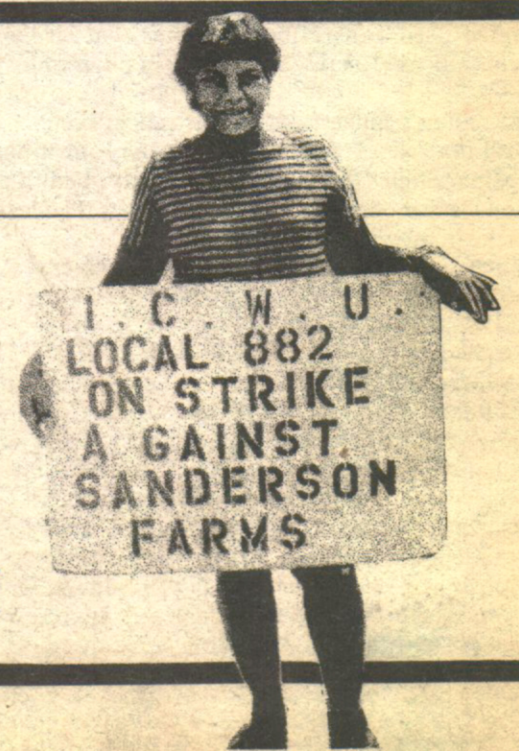
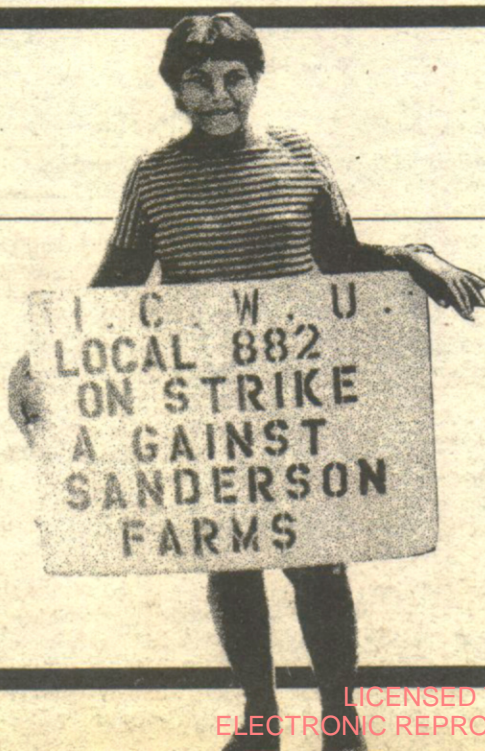
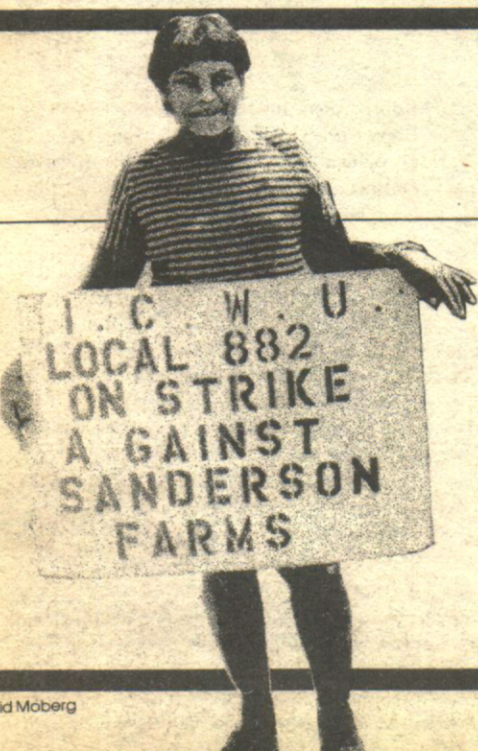


Rabbi Robert Marx, president of the Jewish Council of Urban Affairs, and PUSH president Jesse Jackson meet with other black and Jewish leaders at the Council's headquarters in Chicago Aug. 28. United Food and Commercial Worker Vice-President Charles Hayes stands behind Jackson.

BLACKS AND JEWS TRY TO HEAD OFF GROWING HOSTILITY

SPECIAL LABOR DAY REPORT

HOW TO ORGANIZE A UNION IN THE NEW SOUTH



THE INSIDE STORY

RICK ENGLER



Tony Mazzocchi lost by two percent of the vote.

Mazzocchi loses OCAW presidency

Progressive forces in the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union (AFL-CIO-CLC) suffered a major blow with the narrow defeat of Anthony Mazzocchi in the Aug. 17 presidential election at the union's convention in Hollywood, Fla. Mazzocchi was defeated by fellow International Vice-President Robert F. Goss in a roll call vote of 83,618 to 80,485.

On May 3, Al Grospiron, OCAW's President for fourteen years announced his retirement. His relatively progressive administration had opposed the B-1 bomber, supported Sen. George McGovern's presidential candidacy in 1976 and under Grospiron OCAW joined the Citizens Labor Energy Coalition and the Progressive Alliance. Before he retired, Grospiron suggested that labor may eventually need its own political party.

But OCAW, although democratically structured, has not been a militant union overall for several reasons. In the chemical industry, where there have been bitter strikes at individual plants, OCAW represents only about 10 percent of the hourly workers. Another 25 unions represent 240,000 chemical workers. Effective coordinated bargaining in the chemical industry is limited. In oil, where OCAW members cover some 85 percent of the nation's refining capacity, important segments of the industry remain outside the union. OCAW, for example, has only two Exxon units. Independent unions, largely company dominated, remain strong at some refineries, although OCAW has achieved most of its recent oil organizing successes with independents. More important, the highly automated nature of refineries means that strikes are not generally as effective as they are in other industries.

Despite the union's lack of power, oil workers are the nation's highest paid industrial workers. Contracts, with notable exceptions such as the four month strike against Shell Oil in 1973 over safety, health and pensions, have been won without strikes. The last general strike in oil was a short one in 1969. When Grospiron announced his retirement, it was expected that the two vice-presidents, Robert F. Goss and Anthony Mazzocchi, would square off for the presidency.

Mazzocchi, 53, worked at the Helena Rubinstein Cosmetics Company on Long Island, N.Y. where in 1950 he joined OCAW's predecessor, the United Gas, Coke, and Chemical Workers. Three years later he was elected local President. In 1965 he became OCAW's Legislative Director after serving as a rank and file executive board member. In 1977 he was elected without opposition to be International Vice-President.

Mazzocchi has been consistently involved in progressive campaigns, including opposition to nuclear testing in the mid 1950s, the civil rights movement,

and anti-Vietnam war activities. In October 1978, he launched International Organizing Week, a unique attempt to reach 160,000 American and Canadian workers by handbilling hundreds of plant gates by rank and file volunteers and union staff. The number of organizing campaigns swung upwards soon afterwards. But Mazzocchi achieved national recognition for his work on occupational safety and health issues.

In the late 1960s Mazzocchi organized rank and file conferences on safety and health across the country, which gave OCAW members opportunities to tell of the hazards they faced. Utilizing an apparent membership concern, OCAW became an important force in winning passage of the Occupational Safety and Health Act in 1970. Since then OCAW, under Mazzocchi's leadership, has engaged in numerous job health battles with corporate giants such as Shell—struck in 1973 over health issues—Occidental Chemical and Dow Chemical—over exposure to a sterility causing pesticide, DBCP—and the entire oil industry over exposure to cancer-causing benzene.

Mazzocchi was the only international officer in the OCAW to pressure for a continuing investigation into the 1974 highway death and perhaps murder of OCAW activist and Oklahoma nuclear worker Karen Silkwood. And he has helped build local and national coalitions composed of unions, environmentalists, scientists, women's organizations and others in recognition of the fact that the labor movement must have firm allies to win workplace health struggles. A recent OCAW fight with American Cyanamid in West Virginia, where five women workers had been "voluntarily" sterilized in order to keep their jobs working with lead chromate, catalyzed formation of a national coalition for the reproductive rights of workers.

Robert F. Goss, 57, was a maintenance worker at Union Oil in California where in 1940 he joined the Oil Workers International Union, which eventually merged with the Gas, Coke, and Chemical Workers to form OCAW. He served as a staff representative for his local and the international union for almost 10 years. From 1957-63 Goss worked with the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers in Africa and Latin America. His main work in recent years has been collective bargaining and particularly in aiding formation of chemical bargaining councils and a unified set of demands. Goss admitted that he has had a "low profile" within OCAW. Goss attacked Mazzocchi for his dynamic speaking style, his job health activities, his coalition building, and for his left political perspective. It was not really clear what Goss stood for beyond narrow collective bargaining approaches. In his convention speech he claimed that "one of my strong suits is that I relate to people."

Mazzocchi countered that "this is not a social club, this is a social movement." He ran a campaign emphasizing that the election was not about personalities, but OCAW's future direction. He repeatedly characterized Goss as "the business as usual candidate." He noted that "many labor leaders act more like company executives than the elected representatives of working people." The theme of his campaign was that the labor movement is under attack from both business and government. Traditional bargaining approaches are inadequate. Thus Mazzocchi, in his convention speech, called for a new political party to represent the interests of labor.

Too close to call.

Although the race was considered too close to call for weeks, both sides came to Florida with guarded optimism. Mazzocchi ran on a slate with two vice-presidential candidates, Ernie Rouselle, a popular, militant and ultimately victorious staffer from Louisiana, and

Bernie Emrick, a soft-spoken southeastern District Director.

Goss ran alone, although he cooperated closely with two vice-presidential candidates, L. Calvin Moore, OCAW's Legislative Director, and Mike Ricigliano, Goss's staff assistant. He enjoyed the indirect support of Grospiron. Although Grospiron was publicly neutral, key presidential staff appointees, such as the new director of the large Chicago based district, favored Goss.

When the convention began, Mazzocchi won an important procedural victory. Goss backers wanted campaign speeches limited to fifteen minutes per candidate, a move that if successful would have favored Goss's boring speaking style. Their attempt was defeated. On Thursday, the only other significant issue of the convention, the question of autonomy of the union's Canadian district, came to the floor. A united Canadian proposal to set up a new, independent structure but one loosely affiliated to the OCAW passed unanimously, clearing the way for the progressive Canadian district to line up behind Mazzocchi. But it was also becoming clear that southeastern support was not as firm as expected. The night before the election, the race was still too close to call.

Mazzocchi was defeated by less than 2 percent of the vote cast. One of his Vice-Presidential candidates, Ernie Rouselle, won. L. Calvin Moore was elected the other Vice-President, becoming the union's first black international officer.

A change in any one or two of a number of circumstances could have swung enough votes to insure a Mazzocchi victory. On the first day of the convention, Percy Ashcraft, an International Representative and Mazzocchi supporter, died of a heart attack. Some of the locals he serviced, covering 3,000 workers, were subsequently lost to Goss. At a Thursday evening membership meeting, OCAW Local 4-23 in Port Arthur, Texas, with 6,629 votes—the largest local in the union—voted to mandate its delegates to support Mazzocchi and telegraphed their resolution to their delegation. They largely ignored it. A strike at the Carborundum Corporation in Niagara Falls, New York prevented the strongest Mazzocchi delegates from attending the convention and key votes were again swung to Goss.

Throughout the campaign, Mazzocchi consistently refused to promise staff jobs in return for support. On the eve of the election, it was clear that support was eroding in the southeast. A job offer to a key international representative waffling in his prior pledge to Mazzocchi could have insured enough votes to win. Mazzocchi, despite arguments from key supporters, refused to offer a job. The staffer threw support to Goss.

OCAW has been a predominantly white run union. Mazzocchi's slate, designed to pull the greatest vote, was all white. The minority caucus focused on discrimination in hiring within the union. According to William Taylor, the black President of a large Chicago area local, "Our big concern with the international union has been the promotion of minorities into representatives jobs..." Mazzocchi was more concerned with programmatic discussions about how to fight racism in society. The minority caucus, led by long time Goss supporters, was not impressed. Much of the black led local union vote subsequently went to Goss.

There were other reasons why Mazzocchi lost. The pro-Goss Texas and California districts have traditionally felt that only an oil man could represent them. Oil refinery workers tend toward political conservatism, are mostly over 55 years old, and are getting close to retirement pensions. Mazzocchi threatened to rock the

Continued on page 6.

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Blacks and Jews square off

By John Judis

ABBOT ROSEN, THE CHICAGO head of the Anti-Defamation League, and Clyde Brooks, the Chicago director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), both have photos of Martin Luther King on the wall behind their desks. Rosen's photo is of himself and King at a '60s civil rights demonstration. Brooks' photo is a collage of King, John F. Kennedy, Rosa Parks, and Louis Armstrong going up the side of a mountain.

Brooks and Rosen both speak of a time when blacks and Jews were "brothers and sisters" in the civil rights movement, but they acknowledge that the two groups no longer see eye to eye. The immediate confrontation was sparked by Andy Young's forced resignation, but it goes back to the black power movement of the '60s, the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school controversy in New York, the Bakke, DeFunis and Weber cases, and Israeli support for South Africa and white Rhodesia.

"We feel there is a crisis now between blacks and Jews," Brooks said.

Young's resignation, which many black leaders blamed on Jewish and Israeli pressure, prompted a national meeting of 200 black leaders in New York. They adopted position papers defending black overtures to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and questioning Jewish commitment to racial equality. The resignation also prompted meetings of black and Arab-American leaders at the United Nations Aug. 24 and in Chicago Aug. 28.

Response from Jewish organizations was sharp. "I reject categorically the amalgam of half-truths, untruths, and anti-semitic nonsense," Anti-Defamation League director Nathan Perlmutter said in response to the black leaders' position papers.

But in Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles, tentative steps were taken to open discussions between black and Jewish leaders. "We need one another now more than ever before," Rabbi Robert Marx, the president of the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs in Chicago, said.

"No one should underestimate the depth of this black-Jewish division, this festering sore," Rev. Jesse Jackson, the president of Operation PUSH, said. But Jackson said that no one should underestimate "the need for reconciliation to heal this wound."

Widening divisions.

Jews were always prominent in the NAACP and they played an important role in the Southern civil rights movement. The close ties between blacks and Jews was symbolized in the 1964 Mississippi murder of black civil rights worker James Chaney, along with two Jewish civil rights workers, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner.

But in the mid-'60s, the close ties began to unravel. Riots in Los Angeles, New York and Detroit revealed black hostility towards Jewish landlords and merchants. In 1966, a majority of New York Jews helped defeat a black-supported proposal for a civilian police review board. In 1968, black-Jewish tension exploded in the teachers strike that followed the dismissal of 13 Jewish teachers from a black community-controlled Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district.

Many liberal Jews also reacted angrily to their ouster from the leadership of the civil rights movement and to the support for Palestinian self-determination among black new left organizations like the Black Panther party.

In the '70s, the divisions have, if anything, widened. In Forest Hills, N.Y., Jewish residents fought the erection in 1971 of public housing where blacks might live. Most prominent Jewish or-

ganizations supported Bakke's and DeFunis' attempt to eliminate racial quotas in professional schools. (Since the Supreme Court decision, the Anti-Defamation League has sought to enforce the decision by monitoring professional schools.)

Major Jewish organizations have refused to criticize Israeli arms shipments to South Africa and white Rhodesia. And some Jewish leaders have joined in pressuring the Carter administration to recognize the Muzorewa regime.

Many local Jewish organizations either stayed out of or opposed desegregation efforts. Chicago's Jewish Urban Affairs Council, which has attempted to maintain ties with the black community, was bitterly attacked by other Jewish organizations for their support of suburban black housing.

Among Jewish leaders and organizations, there has generally been a turn away from liberalism toward a kind of "neo-conservatism." The change was epitomized in the career of Norman Podhoretz, the editor of *Commentary*, a

magazine published by the American Jewish Committee, and, by any measure, the most influential Jewish publication. In the '50s and early '60s, Podhoretz had been a noted liberal, a friend of civil rights activist and writer James Baldwin, and the author of a widely read confession of his own racism, "My Negro Problem—and Ours." In the early '70s, Podhoretz began burning his bridges to the left. "The anti-semitism of the left has come out of the foul-smelling catacombs of the radical tradition and into the common light of day," Podhoretz declared in an attack on racial quotas.

After the 1972 election, he joined Nathan Glazer and Seymour Martin Lipset in helping form the anti-McGovern Coalition for a Democratic Majority, which later spawned the Committee on the Present Danger. When the DeFunis and Bakke cases arose, Podhoretz stated that "quotas are the most serious threat to the Jews since World War II."

Podhoretz capsulized his new approach in a *Commentary* essay entitled "Is It Good for the Jews?" Podhoretz charged that Jewish organizations had for too long espoused "universalist" sentiments—believing that what was good for humanity would be good for the Jews. It was now time, on such issues as quotas and the defense of Israel, to advocate a more interest-group approach, he argued.

Podhoretz's views are widely shared in the leadership of the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, the Hadassah and other major Jewish organizations. Liberal and left-leaning Jewish organizations, like the Urban Affairs Council or the pro-peace *Breira*, were isolated. "*Breira* was done to death by the Jewish establishment," *Jewish Currents* editor Morris Schappes commented.

After the Six-Day War in 1967, American Jewish concern became fixed on Israel. While harboring private reservations about Israeli intransigence, the major

organizations have maintained a united front under the umbrella of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations. Along with wealthy Jews in clothing, entertainment, the media and finance, they have had a significant effect on American Mideast policy. In 1972, George McGovern was denied major Jewish financial support because he advocated a UN-backed solution in the Mideast. In 1976, Jimmy Carter carefully cultivated and won over Jewish financial support.

As a president, Carter has steered a course between his and the State Department's desire for a negotiated settlement that would include Palestinians from the PLO and the American Jews' defense of Menachem Begin's policies. When American Jews bitterly protested Carter's 1977 joint declaration with the Soviet Union on Palestinian rights, he promptly withdrew his support for it.

Andrew Young was a victim of this maneuvering between strategic designs and domestic political interests. Only the leader of the Zionist Organization of

"radical" black leaders; it extends well beyond the leadership to the rank-and-file.

Charles Hayes is the vice-president of the newly merged United Food and Commercial workers and also the vice-president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Hayes believes that the black resentment against Jewish leaders and organizations is entirely justified, not only on foreign policy issues, but on trade union issues as well. "As black trade unionists, we have been used to support Jewish causes without much reciprocity," he said. "I don't think our Jewish counterparts in the trade unions have been very aggressive in opening up the trade union movement, particularly in the building trades." Hayes also decries the disproportion in black and Jewish trade union leaders relative to their size among the rank-and-file.

Hayes has participated in talks to repair the black-Jewish relationship, but he thinks Jewish organizations will have to face certain "realities." "The PLO is the active arm of the Palestinians," Hayes said. "They are not going to



Young's resignation triggered the present rift, but conflict over Bakke, South Africa and the PLO has pushed Blacks and Jews apart.

American publicly called for Young's resignation, but other leaders roundly denounced Young. "They'll tell you butter won't melt in their mouths," one prominent New York Jew said of the leaders' disavowal of any role in Young's forced resignation.

Black backlash.

Black leaders have evinced some support for the Palestinians during the '60s. In 1972, black support for the PLO caused a split at the Black Leadership Conference at Gary, Ind. According to *Chicago Tribune* columnist Vernon Jarrett, blacks largely kept their views to themselves out of deference to Jewish leaders and out of fear they would be labelled anti-semites. The Young resignation caused blacks to "come out of the closet," in the words of one civil rights leader.

The SCLC met with PLO representative Zehdi Labib Terzi at the UN, and PUSH's Jesse Jackson issued a strong statement at his Aug. 18 morning meeting. "There is no question that we should be pro-Israel," Jackson said. "But to be pro-Israel is to be pro-peace. To be pro-peace is to be pro-Palestinian."

Jackson and the SCLC called for American and Israeli talks with the PLO and for an Israeli break with South Africa and the Rhodesian whites.

But as the black leaders acknowledge, the Young-PLO issue was merely the spark that set ablaze a larger conflagration of resentment. This resentment emanates from "mediate" as well as

evaporate or fade away. It's just right for the Palestinians to have a homeland."

Edward "Buzz" Palmer founded the Afro-American Patrolmen's League in Chicago and is now director of COMPRAND, a black affirmative action organization in Chicago. Palmer emphasized that he was speaking as a civil rights activists, not as the director of COMPRAND.

Palmer thinks that the conflict between blacks and Jews reflects a change in their respective economic position. "Jews and blacks were in a strong relationship when they were primarily working class," Palmer said, "but now Jews have entered into the mainstream and have identified with the status quo. Ten years ago, we might have been together, but 10 years later, I'm wiping the blood out of my eyes, and you're driving down the street in a Cadillac."

Palmer scoffs at the Jewish resentment directed against black power. "If someone came to me and said, 'Buzz, I want you to be president of the Jewish Federation,' I would have to decline, yet Jews were head of the NAACP."

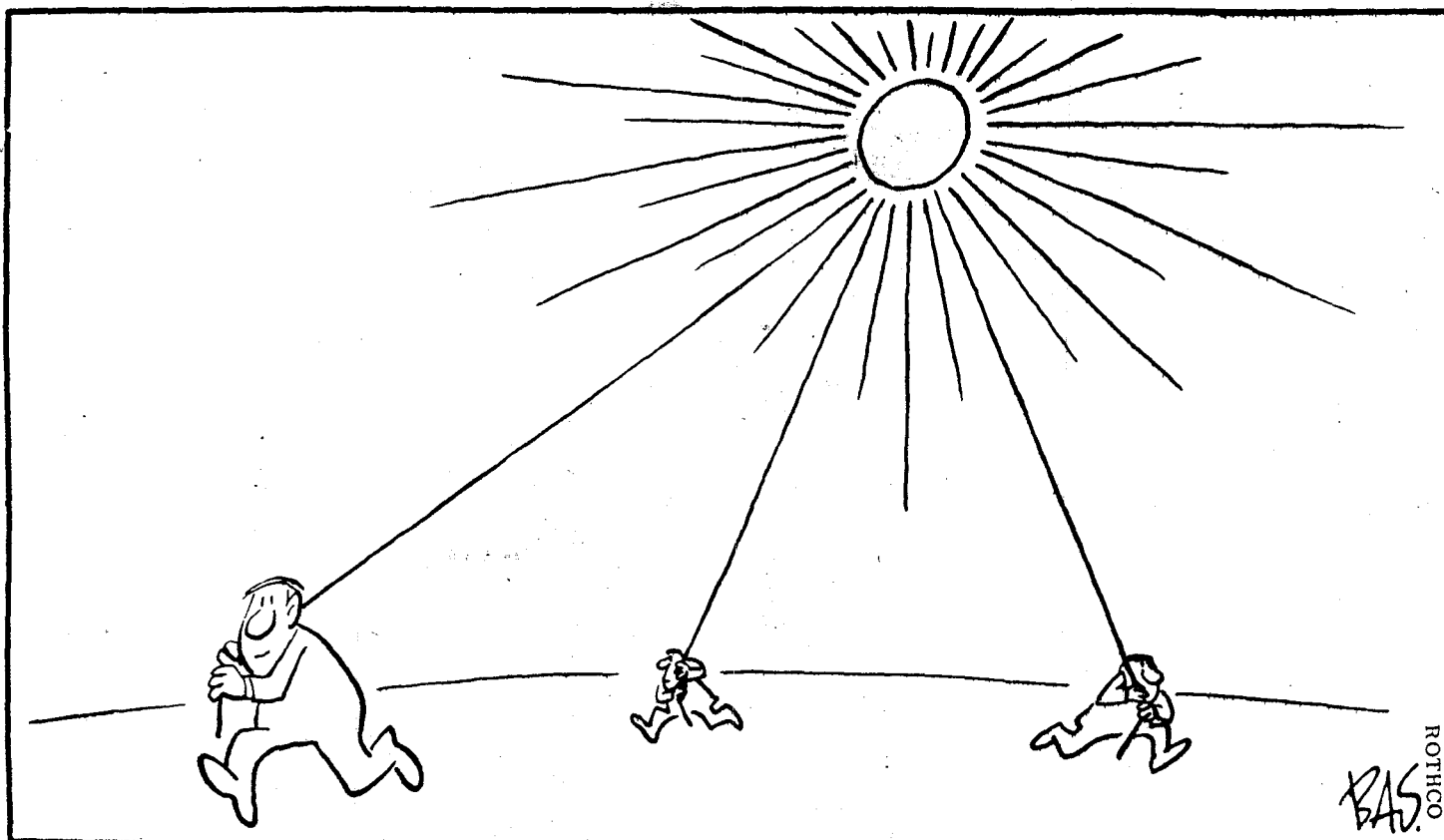
He is particularly enraged by the Jewish stand on Bakke. "With Bakke, it wasn't Scandinavian organizations we had to fight; it was Jewish organizations." Palmer thinks that places in medical schools should strictly reflect the proportion of a group in the population.

He rejects the charge of Jewish leaders that black criticism is anti-semitic. "I

Continued on page 6.

IN THE NATION

ENERGY



A California energy path

By Wink Glennon

WHEN CARTER DRAMATICALLY unveiled his new energy policy in July, it proved to be nothing more than a stale rehashing of old corporate themes. Across the continent, however, work had already begun to steer California onto an entirely different course.

Energy activists in California had begun to see that with an economic base large enough to make it the eighth largest country in the world, California was capable of successfully pursuing its own energy policy, and already three major energy initiatives were underway.

This summer, approximately 80 people convened at Lone Mountain College in San Francisco on June 23 and then again on Aug. 18 to hammer out an energy program diametrically opposed to that of the federal government. While Washington is encouraging continued construction of nuclear power plants, coal gasification and the development of synthetic fuels, California would be installing windmills, solar collectors, and cogeneration facilities and mandating strict conservation measures.

Whether or not this scenario develops will depend on the political muscle of the more than 30 participating organizations within the loose coalition. The Ad Hoc group includes such major organizations as the California Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, the Abalone Alliance, the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), the Californians for Nuclear Safeguards, the Natural Resources Defense Council, the Consumer Federation of California and the League of Women Voters, as well as local and regional groups like the Stanislaus Solar Energy Committee and Modesto Peace Life.

According to Larry Levine, one of the coordinators of the coalition gatherings, "the combined membership of the groups represented in the coalition amounts to over 500,000 people."

Conservation first.

The stated goal of the coalition is to ensure that California implements the full cost-effective level of conservation measures, and that supplies from alternative reusable and clean energy resources are exhausted before any more conventional power plants or supply projects are built.

The package of proposals are still going through a "refining" process, and

are not expected to be publicly announced until mid-September, but it includes two main elements: conservation and alternative energy development.

The conservation planks of the proposal range broadly from conservation tax credits, to the creation of strict efficiency standards for lighting, appliances and electric motors, to the tightening up of energy related building codes. The alternative energy section includes proposals mandating solar heating for swimming pools and all new water heaters, granting state funds for local and regional energy development projects, and requiring the

23 meeting, much of the discussion focused on anti-nuclear proposals: laws limiting the on site amounts and longevity of storing nuclear waste materials, asking the California legislature to petition Congress for the repeal of the Price Anderson Act, and the out-and-out banning of any new nuclear power plants in California.

But in subsequent meetings all anti-nuclear proposals were removed from the recommended draft presented at the Aug. 18 meeting. The Coalition reasoned that the inclusion of anti-nuclear proposals would create retaliatory negative

A coalition in California has formed to initiate a series of new conservation measures.

utility companies to provide low cost financing for consumer installation of conservation or alternative energy systems.

There was considerable discussion at the meeting about whether to include the utility companies at all, and although most participants would have preferred not to, it was concluded that financing for solar and other alternative energy systems would be too complicated and unwieldy if not done through the utility companies. The companies would be limited to a financing role however, and kept out of vending completely.

The legislature's role.

The coalition's political strategy is to turn the whole package over to the California legislature for the professional lawmakers to mold into legislation. The legislature would also be given a complete list of supporting organizations with the promise that the full organizational strength of the listed groups would be thrown behind the legislation. Unspoken, but clearly present, is the option of taking the proposals directly to the electorate in the form of a popular energy initiative, if the legislature fails to act.

Whether this strategy can succeed will depend to a large degree on how cohesive the coalition will prove to be, and whether it can, if necessary, mobilize the vast amount of grassroots potential represented by the sponsoring organizations.

Already the group has weathered one potentially serious split. During the June

voting within the legislature and that such measures may not even be necessary or timely since the implementation of the rest of the package would eliminate the necessity for any new nuclear power plants.

The retaliatory vote on most people's minds is that of State Senator Alfred Alquist, the powerful chairman of the Senate Committee on Energy. According to Sacramento legislative observers, Alquist is for energy, any and every kind, and can be expected to support the substance of the coalition's proposals, but would very likely throw his weight against the entire package if it contained anti-nuclear language. And, since the Senate is always a more difficult body to get any comprehensive legislation through, Alquist's opposition would be a serious roadblock to the legislative strategy.

The proposal is expected to garner at least qualified support from Governor Jerry Brown who can be expected to welcome what amounts to an aggressive challenge to Carter's energy policy, particularly when it comes from such a broad coalition of grassroots organizations.

Strong opposition to the program can be expected from the California public utilities companies, but even more formidably, from the oil companies. The spectre of California systematically undermining the highly capitalized and centralized energy industry built up by the oil companies with a network of small, local and regional energy sources with a heavy emphasis on conservation

and reusable fuels, is enough to send shock waves through board rooms across the country.

The Press Initiative.

An organization called the California Oil Profits Coalition is currently circulating petitions to qualify an initiative measure for the June 1980 ballot that would slap a 10 percent windfall profits tax on all oil company operations in California. If passed, the measure would funnel the estimated \$100 million annually raised into a newly created fund, the Transportation Planning and Development Account, where it would be used largely to fund mass transit.

The Initiative is popularly referred to as the Press Initiative after Bill Press, the former director of the California Office of Planning and Research, and a long time political lieutenant of Jerry Brown. Press claims that "I believe enough in this thing to quit my job to run this initiative," and says that chances are good that the 346,119 signatures necessary to qualify the measure will be gathered.

Asked whether Brown was throwing his support behind the initiative, Press said "I have Jerry's blessing but not his support, but once the legislature adjourns, I'll be working hard to get his full support." Press strongly denied that there was any connection whatsoever between the initiative and Brown's presidential campaign.

Some activists have criticized the Oil Company Profits Initiative because it simply taxes the oil companies and does not require any changes in their operations, and because the measure allows the oil companies tax credits for money spent developing alternative energy.

Press responded by saying that he felt the tax credits were one of the strengths of the measure, and that the initiative was not written to be a broad energy proposal, just a windfall profits tax.

If Press's Initiative qualifies for the ballot, most observers feel it has an excellent chance of passing, given the anti-oil company mood of the electorate.

The Energy Self Reliance Initiative.

Perhaps the most challenging and dramatic of the measures being discussed however is the Energy Self Reliance Initiative being worked on by a loose coalition of progressive activists and organizations in California.

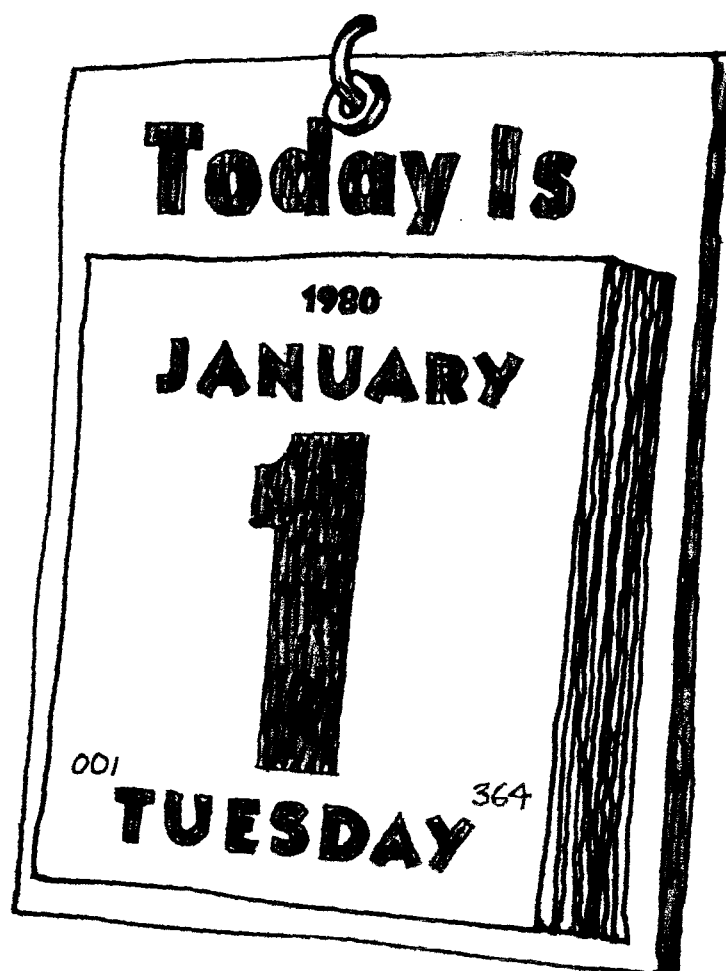
The centerpiece of the Self Reliance Initiative is a proposal for an independent California Gas and Oil Company, that would participate in the market just like the major oil companies, only in the interest of the California consumer. The proposal first surfaced in two separate forms, an Assembly bill introduced by Berkeley Assemblyman Tom Bates, and a draft Initiative put together by Burt Wilson and Tim Brick of CAUSE.

The California Gas & Oil Company, under the most far reaching language used, would have its board of directors elected by California voters, would have the authority to issue revenue bonds, could involve itself in any type of energy development including joint ventures and innovative alternative energy systems, and would have the power to acquire property through the use of eminent domain.

Additional planks to the Initiative are currently being discussed, including the creation of a large state fund earmarked for the research and development of alternative energy sources. The idea was presented to the participants of the Lone Mountain Coalition at the Aug. 18 meeting, but there was no time to discuss it further, and it was left for clarification and consideration at a later date.

The Energy Self Reliance Initiative, if it gets off the ground, wouldn't be put before the electorate until Nov. 1980 since not enough time remains to certify and qualify any as of yet unformed Initiative measure for the June ballot. ■

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STH1

NUCLEAR ENERGY

Trespassing acquitted in nuke trial

By Charles Varon

ELEVEN ANTINUCLEAR PROTESTERS charged with trespassing and resisting arrest at the Rancho Seco power plant near Sacramento March 31, and who based their defense on the principle that they faced an "immediate danger" from the reactor, received mixed verdicts in a six week trial that ballooned into a debate on the merits of nuclear energy.

On Aug. 14 the jury acquitted one defendant, convicted one, and couldn't agree about the other nine. "Acquittal would have been a clearcut victory," defendant Betty Pape said, "but not to convict is the next best thing."

At the center of the trial was the "defense of necessity," a doctrine in California law that justifies otherwise criminal action because of an immediate danger. If a citizen breaks into a burning house to save a child, the reasoning goes, that person is not guilty of trespass.

In a small courtroom in Elk Grove, the Rancho Seco defendants argued that "the life-threatening dangers posed by the continued operation of Rancho Seco made it a necessity for us to engage in civil disobedience."

Donald Balding, the judge, ruled that the defendants could answer the trespass charges at a nuclear power plant with a defense based on necessity. Judge Balding allowed both sides to present expert witnesses to testify to the danger, or lack of, presented by the Rancho Seco plant.

Ten of the eleven defendants also took the stand to explain why they went over the fence. They spoke of the connection between nuclear power and nuclear weapons, of the radiation-induced cancer deaths of native American uranium miners, and of the multinational giants who place profit before safety.

In his summation for the prosecution, Deputy District Attorney Patrick Marlette defended private property. He called the defendants "spiteful children" who broke the law instead of working within the system. Necessity, he said, did not apply.

The lawyer for the defense, Leonard Post, spoke of the history of civil disobedience and of its application to Rancho Seco. With the necessity doctrine, he said, the jury could sanction the defendants' action.



One of the Rancho Seco demonstrators was acquitted after claiming civil disobedience was justified because the plant presented a greater danger. Ten others received mixed verdicts.

The 10-woman, 2-man jury deliberated for three days, weighing each defendant's beliefs and the extent that each had used legal means to fight Rancho Seco. "The jury did not buy the prosecutor's case," said defendant Betty Pape. "They based their decision on the defense of necessity."

The jury convicted the defendant who did not testify: he had failed to prove necessity.

Mike Gillogly, a defendant who testified to his years of work against nuclear power, his campaigning for the 1976 nuclear safeguards initiative and for anti-nuke candi-

dates for the Sacramento Municipal Utilities District board, was acquitted.

The jury was deadlocked over the nine remaining defendants, who had failed to present a prior history of legal protests. In seven cases one juror held out alone for acquittal. Judge Balding finally accepted the hung juries for the nine and the D.A. announced that he intends to retry them.

The expert testimony of Dr. John Gofman, the nuclear physicist who worked for, and then quit, the Atomic Energy Commission, was crucial to the defense. Gofman described routing emissions of nuclear radiation as "premeditated ran-

dom murder" and presented his estimates of the additional cancer deaths that nuclear power will cause. "I think most of the jurors were already scared," said Betty Pape. "After Gofman, they were convinced."

At the end of the trial one juror told the defendants, "We really admire what you did, but we can't condone breaking the law." But they made an important exception in the case of Mike Gillogly. As defense lawyer Alan Ramo said, "Mike Gillogly is the first person in California who a jury found had the right to go over the fence."

Black-Jewish conflict

Continued from page 3.

think anti-semitism is one of the greatest subterfuges that has been perpetrated. When blacks jumped on [Chicago Mayor Richard] Daley, no one accused us of being anti-Irish."

Talks and walkouts.

In Chicago, three meetings have already been held between black and Jewish leaders. The most fruitful of these was called by the Jewish Urban Affairs Council, which brought together liberal Jews with representatives from PUSH, black trade unionists, and community leaders.

In Detroit, the SCLC called a meeting with Jewish leaders, but the SCLC's presentation of a resolution on Palestinian rights, along with the presence of an Arab-American representative, prompted a walkout by the Jewish representatives.

In Los Angeles discussions have begun, prompted by blacks and Jews on Mayor Tom Bradley's staff. In New York, according to Jewish leader Charney Bromberg, "things are still a little too hot for any meeting to take place."

The Jewish response to black anger has been a mixture of hostility and defensiveness. "There is nothing we can do to keep them from sticking their hands in Mideast policy," the American Jew-

ish Committee's Andrew Baker said. "But anybody who involves himself in Mideastern politics better have an understanding of their complexity. They don't."

Abbot Rosen of the Anti-Defamation League denied that Jews were responsible for Andrew Young's resignation. "It never occurred to me that it had the slightest reference to black-Jewish relations," Rosen said.

Rosen pleaded "for understanding of the Jewish organizations' fear of quotas. 'There's been a basic disagreement about how to best achieve what all people of good will desire—the fullest integration of all people into the American mainstream,'" he said. Rosen described the Jewish organizations' struggle after World War II to remove quotas against Jews in university admissions. "Take a school like Northwestern," he said. "They wouldn't go look for students at a school like the Bronx High School of Science."

Rosen acknowledged that the situation of blacks was not the same as that of Jews after World War II, but he still termed quotas as "a quick fix which is just a delusion." The only way to solve the problem, Rosen said, was a massive outpouring of money that would ensure better early education.

Rosen blanched, however, at black demands that Israel end its arms shipments to South Africa. He blamed the black leaders' views on their "third worldism." "This is an idea they've gotten from Third World nations," he said. "Although Israel is as guilty as the U.S. of having relations with South Africa, it is a piece of racism, if not anti-semitism, to extrapolate from this total mess the state of Israel and say she is the

principal culprit."

Rosen and other Jewish leaders are skeptical about whether black and Jewish relations can be improved as long as blacks talk to the PLO. "As long as certain of these blacks prolong their love affair with the PLO, there is going to be a certain amount of tension. If they begin to shift gears and pay attention to domestic issues, we can talk much more constructively to each other."

Mazzocchi

Continued from page 2.

boat. Mazzocchi felt that many of the union's 10,000 or so atomic energy workers had a deep distrust of him and some of the key atomic locals swung to Goss. Although Mazzocchi has faithfully supported OCAW's democratically determined policy of support for the growth of the nuclear industry with stringent safety and health provisions, his close associations with anti-nuclear activists like Barry Commoner and Ralph Nader were successfully used against him to raise job loss fears among atomic workers.

OCAW prospects.

Mazzocchi's future in OCAW is uncertain. Goss, being "the first to recognize the closeness of the vote" promised no

recriminations and after the convention appointed Mazzocchi as OCAW Director of Occupational Safety and Health. Goss, although his plans are unclear is a competent trade unionist, and is not likely to fall on his face. It may be in the oil industry's interest to make the new administration look good when wages are renegotiated in January; they are certainly not short of cash.

Mazzocchi remains dedicated to building a militant and progressive union. He feels at least half the members "clearly got my message." He said that the "tears in the eyes of delegates, mostly male, was from a sense of loss of purpose, not over the defeat of an individual." It was a sense of purpose that could be recaptured with resurgent leadership from the locals.

Rick Engler worked as an intern in the OCAW Legislative Office and is author of *Oil Refinery Safety and Health Hazards; their Causes and the Struggle to End Them*.

IN THE WORLD

ELECTIONS IN INDIA



The Janata Party failed to deliver a program for India's rural problems, an area of increasing tension and violence.

People's Party falls, elections called

By Michael Ryan

IN THE MONTH OF JULY, INDIA'S central government fell. Morarji Desai's Janata or People's Party, an untidy coalition of right-wing and socialist factions that exploited popular resentment against Indira Gandhi's emergency rule to shock her in the 1977 elections, came apart at the seams; ministerial defectors fled, a vote of no-confidence was called, and Desai resigned.

Both Desai and Charan Singh, the minister whose defection toppled the government proposed to form a government and submitted lists of supporters totalling 279 each to President Reddy, who was justifiably puzzled, since the full Parliament numbers only 538. Desai proved faulty at addition and Singh formed a government.

In order to form a government Singh briefly entered into a coalition with Indira Gandhi's Congress Party, but this lasted barely a month. In return for the Congress Party's support, the special courts that were established to prosecute Mrs. Gandhi and her son Sanjay for excesses during the Emergency period (1975-77) were to be ruined in and neutralized by the Singh government. But long-standing animosity between Gandhi and Singh—Gandhi had imprisoned Singh during the Emergency and Singh had said she should be whipped publicly for her election fraud—prevented this coalition from lasting. Gandhi's lieutenants demanded guarantees that the special courts would be called off in return for supporting the Singh government in a vote of confidence. Singh refused to provide the guarantees and resigned. President Reddy accepted his resignation and called for new elections.

What did it all mean? In the short-run, Singh's ascent meant an end to the right-wing dominance of the Janata Party. Singh defected in protest against the links between Jana Sangh (People's Union), a rightist Janata faction, and the RSS (Rashtriya Swayam Sevak—The National Self-Helper), a neo-fascist, Hindu nationalist organization that has

India's ruling coalition came apart at the seams following a vote of no confidence. New elections are set for the fall.

been blamed for a recent outburst of rioting and violence against the Muslim minority. Jana Sangh was also responsible for the defeat of some of Singh's supporters in state elections. He retaliated by forming a secular Janata and played down Desai's insistence on prohibiting alcohol and his tolerance of sacred cows. As one Bengali remarked, the change of government at least meant fewer cows on the streets of New Delhi.

Singh's plan fails to get off ground.

Singh, even had he survived, would not have done much for India's working classes. The original Janata program—implementation of Janata founder Raj Narain's "total revolution," a rightist plan for uplifting the country on the basis of full agricultural employment and free enterprise—scarcely got off the ground. Singh also promised a program of rural benefits, but it was unlikely that urban taxes and rerouted government funds would ever have reached India's peasants. Singh's constituency is the rich rural landlords, who in recent months have committed numerous attacks (including public burnings) against Harijans, the Untouchables who make up the class of landless rural poor. Ever since Naxalbari, a Maoist-led peasant uprising in the late '60s that was brutally suppressed by the government, the Indian peasantry has been making moves toward self-organization and revolt. Caught in a circle of debt that makes many of them virtual bonded slaves to the landlords, they have few other choices. A sign of their unrest is the terror exercised by Charan Singh's supporters against them.

The Janata party will undoubtedly lose in the upcoming elections. The likely winners are the old guard Congress parties, especially Gandhi's faction, and the new guard Communist Party of India (Marxist), which stands to increase its 22 seats in Parliament.

Left gains in West Bengal.

Since one of the Communists' primary goals is to end foreign influence, it is no wonder they're disliked by the Congress. Twice in the '60s, Gandhi used her prerogatives to end two democratically elected, Communist led United Front governments in West Bengal. In 1972, using the hysteria generated by the Naxalite peasant revolt as a pretext, Congress thugs made it impossible for Communists to run for office. Between 1972 and 1977, over a thousand Marxists were murdered. Then, in the post-emergency reaction to Gandhi's Congress in the 1977 elections, the CPI(M) won a clear and unprecedented majority in West Bengal.

The Communists are strong in only three states—Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura. Since the Indian constitution is federal and real power, including the all-important power to collect and distribute taxes resides in New Delhi, Jyoti Basu, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, is fighting for state autonomy. Greater autonomy would give the Communists greater leverage for implementing their reforms without having to beg for money from Parliament. Without autonomy, their only alternative is to enter parliamentary elections. But their power is now concentrated in West Bengal, and they have yet to make real inroads in the

Congress dominated south or the Hindi speaking north, Janata's territory.

Although the CPI(M) came into being in 1964 as a break-away from the Soviet dominated CPI, they nonetheless follow the Soviet example of equating socialism with a planned public sector. One of the other major points on the party program, a consequence of Mrs. Gandhi's impact on Indian political life, is that strong guarantees for democratic rights be instituted. And one of the first moves of West Bengal's Left Front government was to free all political prisoners.

Given the predominant rural sector, perhaps the greatest change the party seeks to initiate is radical land reform. Operation Barga represents a tentative move in this direction. It is an attempt to register the names of all agricultural laborers who till land for others. It is designed to put an end to unjustified evictions and landlord reprisals. They are also trying to set up a system of self-management by the peasants and to mobilize the peasants to make the Land Reform Act, which limits a single person's land holdings, a success by locating landlord cheaters. The act has been circumvented by landlords registering portions or large holdings with the names of relatives, household gods, and even pets.

Indian leftists are sceptical of the CPI(M)'s commitment to the parliamentary route. They accuse the communists of attempting to solidify their political base in the countryside, instead of working for revolutionary change. The CPI(M) is criticized for opposing the Maoist uprisings of the late '60s, and for entering the elections that the Maoists scorned.

The leftists may be right in claiming that something along more Maoist lines would be better suited to Indian peasant struggles, but, as the Naxalite movement showed, as long as the bourgeoisie and landlords retain a grip on the central government any revolutionary movement will remain stillborn. At the moment however it is unclear whether the center can hold together. ■

IRAN

Iran rallies round rival Ayatollahs

By Diana Johnstone

POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO AYATollah Khomeini is shaping up around various rival Ayatollahs, according to a recent series of articles by *Le Monde* correspondent Eric Rouleau on "the specter of counter-revolution" in Iran.

Although current criticism of Khomeini's rule tends to be expressed in anticlerical terms, against "the rule of the mollahs," even the movements most attached to laicism have "their own" ayatollahs and "their own" mollahs who share their views, according to Rouleau. Thus the far right Fedayan Islam is supported by Ayatollah Khalkhali, the political heirs to Mossadegh in Matine Dastari's Democratic National Front consult Ayatollah Zanjani, and much of the left opposition, from the revolutionary Fedayin and Mujahidin to the moderate National Front, looks to Ayatollah Taleghani as its champion in the religious arena.

But the most powerful coalition, according to Rouleau, is shaping up around the Ayatollah Shariat Madari, a former monarchist who has come around to the idea of a republic, like the business leaders who support him. Their hope is to bring back the Shah's last Prime Minister, liberal reformist Shapur Bakhtiar, who after being chased out of office by Khomeini has in turn taken up a vocal opposition in exile in France. This grouping is most likely to gain support from Western countries, especially the United States, which have lost an estimated \$80 billion worth of business contracts on account of the Islamic revolution—what the *Financial Times* called the worst catastrophe ever to strike international business since World War II.

Ayatollah Shariat Madari has already set the stage for a showdown with Khomeini by contesting the legitimacy of the recently elected constituent assembly and by threatening to lead an uprising of the Azerbaijani minority—about a third of the population of Iran. Meanwhile, weapons are being sold like hotcakes all over the country, armed groups are proliferating and the country is in danger of coming apart at its regional seams as rebellion grows in Kurdistan and brews in Baluchistan and Khouzistan.

Shariat Madari is closely linked to the crucially influential Tehran bazaar, some 40 percent of whose merchants come from his native Azerbaijan. The bazaar, the traditional sector of the business community that resented being by-passed by the Shah's promotion of new, foreign-connected economic sectors, gave vital financial and organizational backing to the Islamic revolution. But now, business is worse than ever and the bazaar is increasingly unhappy with Khomeini's leadership.

Magic carpet capital flight.

Rug merchants, the most influential group in the bazaar, complain bitterly of new government regulations of rug exports—second only to petroleum. Dealers have reportedly been slipping capital out of the country under the rug by under-declaring the value of exported goods and repatriating only part of the real proceeds from sale abroad. To stop this magic carpet flight of capital, the government requires a deposit of one third of the officially estimated market value before rugs can be shipped out of the country. The deposit will be held until the full return from sale abroad is brought back into the country. Bazaar merchants maintain that this measure is a terrible blow to the Persian rug business, which employs a sixth of the population in one way or another, from shepherds through weavers and dyers to salesmen.

Shariat Madari and Bakhtiar can also count on support from the big capitalists who profited most from the Shah's reign but consider the monarchy too hopeless-



Iran's economy has been slipping out of the grasp of Khomeini's Islamic republic and efforts to stem capital flight have failed.

ly discredited to be restored and would settle for a conservative republic.

As forces gather for counter-revolution or civil war, Khomeini seems to be the only leading Ayatollah not linked to any lay political force. By aspiring to purely spiritual leadership, he has limited his party to an undisciplined and disparate collection of mollahs, prone to religious fanaticism and totally unequipped to deal with serious economic problems. Khomeini lacks any political counterpart to his religiously-inspired radical populism. The role of his Prime Minister, Mehdi Bazargan, a moderate Azerbaijani, has been less to carry out Khomeini's policies than to mitigate them in an attempt to reassure the middle classes.

Ironically enough, the only laic political group consistently eager to lend Khomeini a serious helping hand in dealing with the things of this world has been the Tudeh Communist Party, but this assistance has been rejected for ideological reasons.

Khomeini's economics.

As for the rest of the left, which prefers Taleghani, it is weakened by the fact that Khomeini's populist decrees have won him the allegiance of the masses of disinherited. Rents have been lowered, modest unemployment compensation has been provided to a million jobless people, firms have been prohibited from dismissing their employees even for economic reasons. To end real estate speculation, vacant lots in the Tehran metropolitan area have been expropriated for low-rent public housing. The property of 51 major capitalists has been confiscated, banks, insurance and major industry has been nationalized, foreign capital has been booted out. All this has been accomplished by increasingly virulent attacks against the only part of the population that might be able to make such radical measures work—the progressive intelligentsia.

July after a massive flight of capital, indebtedness, fraudulent management and lack of raw materials or spare parts had brought them to the brink of ruin. The government has apparently taken over more liabilities than assets.

As has happened in other times and places, nationalization can be a way of dumping losses on the government. In a special assembly on July 24, building contractors voted 598 to 2 to ask the government to nationalize their firms. "We can't go on like this," a private contractor told Rouleau. "All major projects have been shut down for months, and we are obliged to pay workers who show up armed at construction sites. We have begged Mr. Bazargan to confiscate our firms, without compensation or indemnities. Otherwise, we face ruin and prison."

Protected by the ban on firings, workers have used the committees they organized during last year's insurrectional strikes to exercise a certain control over management, especially concerning personnel, wages and production levels. But problems of supply, investment and product distribution cannot be solved at the factory level. Without broader coordination, partial revolutionary measures may succeed only in paralyzing the economy. Any revolutionary approach to reviving economic activity is blocked, on the one hand, by Mr. Bazargan's attempts to reassure the middle classes through cautious moderation, and on the other hand, by Moslem repression of any political, rather than moralistic-religious, approach to basic problems.

To add to Iran's troubles, mysterious fires have been ravaging wheat crops throughout the country. With a law in the works to expropriate big holdings already taken over by landless peasants, such arson might be the work of agents hired by landlords. On the other hand, while a long-range goal of the Islamic revolution has been to restore Iran's agricultural self-sufficiency, the country remains heavily dependent on food imports—notably, American wheat. Thus Khomeini has accused American agents of setting the fires. Rightly or wrongly, it is widely believed that SAVAK, CIA, and Israeli Mossad agents are still operating freely in Iran, preparing the counter-revolution.



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MIDDLE EAST

By David Mandel

SOUTH LEBANON

"THE TERRIBLE VALLEY YOU see down there is no doubt very tempting to some of Israel's political and military leaders." The speaker, an Israeli professional assigned for several weeks of military reserve service to Metulla, the country's northernmost town on the Lebanese border, was pointing to a large stretch of now somewhat neglected farmland across the line. The plain continues nine kilometers north to Marjayoun, where the night before, one of the constantly thudding artillery shells had hit a house, killing one Lebanese and wounding several others.

The bombardment came from an area slightly to the north and west across the Litani River, where PLO forces and their Lebanese leftist supporters are entrenched. The Marjayoun Valley, part of a contiguous strip of South Lebanon along the border from the Mediterranean to the Golan Heights, is controlled by Christian militia forces of the renegade Lebanese Major Sa'ad Haddad, a close ally—some say even a puppet—of Jerusalem.

In the middle are some 5,000 soldiers—from France, Norway, Ireland, Nepal, Holland, Fiji, Nigeria and Senegal (Iran dropped out)—assigned to the UN Interim Force in Lebanon. They were introduced to keep the peace and supervise Israel's withdrawal after its occupation of the area up to the Litani in spring, 1978.

During my 36-hour stay in the region, the following events, typical of the war now being waged over South Lebanon, occurred: As the PLO was pounding Marjayoun, Israeli warplanes were bombarding "terrorist targets" farther north. Foreign TV films the next day showed dozens of injured civilians and hundreds more fleeing destroyed homes. The following night, two Christian civilians were murdered while driving through the UN-controlled region. At the same time, a warning was sounded that Metulla might be shelled. How did they know, I wondered? One possible answer came a day later, when Israel announced that its soldiers had also entered the UN area that night, destroying a house "used by terrorists." Apparently, a possible reaction was anticipated.

"This region was always wild and uncontrollable," the reservist continued, as we watched traffic at the "Good Fence," a border crossing with officials of one country—Lebanon—missing. "It is far from major urban centers on all sides."

For over 60 years, the sense of lawlessness in the surrounding rugged hills has been exacerbated by the fact that a line demarcating competing spheres of influence and sovereignty has passed through them. The existing international boundary was more or less determined after skirmishes between English and French forces, and their respective Jewish and Arab surrogates, jockeying for control of the former Ottoman Empire after World War I.

Israeli draftees refuse to fight

Twenty-seven Israeli high school students, half of them graduating and thus subject to military conscription this year, published a letter in late July declaring their refusal to serve in the occupied territories. The signers wrote that they could not contribute to the defense of conquests that deny the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

A week later, a statement of support for the signers was published in the press. There were also attempts under way to draft a similar letter of refusal by reserve soldiers, who would declare their willingness to defend Israel, but not its conquests.

Meanwhile, the state was threatening to prosecute the radical weekly *Al-Nazzam* for publishing a letter calling for such refusal several months ago.

South Lebanon war escalates into a multiparty conflict



The Good Fence turns bad.

Ironically, however, the Lebanese border was actually Israel's most peaceful from 1948 until after the 1967 war. It was not even fenced, let alone mined and heavily guarded as it is now, and farmers on both sides quietly tended crops in the valleys and flocks in the hills. But then came the Palestinian guerrilla forces, explained Frances Rizk, press spokesman for Haddad in Metulla, speaking in excellent Hebrew he has learned in the past two years.

Especially after its "Black September" expulsion from Jordan in 1970, the PLO chose South Lebanon as a useful base and staging ground for attacks on Israel. A 1969 "Cairo Agreement" between the PLO and the already weak Lebanese central government had regularized the former's presence in the area. Towns sympathetic to what would become the Lebanese left opposition forces helped the Palestinians: Maronite Christians—the ethnic-religious backbone of the country's rightist factions—were less than 15 percent of South Lebanon's population.

When the Lebanese civil war broke out in 1975 and climaxed in 1976, the south remained quiet. Quieter, in fact, than it had been in the years immediately preceding, since the PLO troops, as well as supporters of the various other warring factions, headed north to join the battles. Israel opened up its "Good Fence" openings in the border, by then well-fortified, to serve civilians cut off from medical and other facilities in the north.

The Good Fence was a major propaganda plus for Israel, and it also served to help the Jewish state forge close relations with South Lebanon's rightist Christians, allies of the Beirut factions with whom Israel was also fast developing rapport.

Then the war moved south. The Palestinians and Lebanese leftists fled the Syrian invasion of mid-1976, re-established themselves in the south and eventually

Israel has forged an alliance with rightist Christians against the PLO, with the UN playing the role of an unhappy mediator

came to an uneasy reconciliation with Damascus' forces. Haddad, armed and encouraged by Israel, grabbed three enclaves—the Marjayoun Valley and two other border areas. These pockets were purged of "communists," as Rizk referred to the tens of thousands, including many Christian as well as Moslem civilians, who fled or were driven out. Even 40 percent of Haddad's stronghold, Christian Marjayoun, left, according to Rizk. The "real Christians" remained, he said.

Fighting escalated, Haddad's militias were hard pressed, direct Israeli involvement—air raids, shelling and commando attacks—grew, and last year, Israel moved in en masse. When it withdrew, it handed over the strip of Lebanon all along its border not to the UN, as called for by the Security Council, but to Haddad.

Israel maintains de facto control of Haddad's "Free Lebanon," the "independent" state he declared last spring when the Beirut government disowned him and cut off salaries to his militia troops. A recent UN report alleges 291 Israeli "border violations" between January 13 and June 8, 1979. Jerusalem and Rizk officially deny such regular involvement, but a couple of soldiers I met in Metulla referred casually to their activities in the Marjayoun area that day.

Besides Israel's own anti-PLO actions in Lebanon, including air raids on refugee camps, commando attacks on Palestinian bases and artillery pounding from Israeli territory and from the sea, the Haddad force has become a regular partner, highly coordinated with top Israeli commanders in the region. It does

seem to enjoy certain support from those of the area's civilians who remain, but it, and the civilians themselves, are totally dependent on Israel for arms, and also for food, water, health care and many jobs. Many hundreds of South Lebanese, including some of Haddad's part time fighters, cross the border daily to work.

Israeli criticism of UN forces.

The UNIFIL forces deployed just north of Haddadland are also quite dependent on Israel for their supplies and contact with the outside world, a senior Israeli military source in the area pointed out. The UN spokesman in Jerusalem was more circumspect: Haifa is logistically the most convenient port for UNIFIL use, he said. The force's soldiers on leave are a common sight all over the country.

UNIFIL's use of Israeli facilities makes it clear that the barrage of criticism aimed at the force by official Israel and the country's press, mostly accusing it of collaboration with the PLO, is more propaganda than real. If Israel truly believed that the UN was harming its security, it could very easily seal the border.

An official Israeli army report issued in July detailed the UN's alleged pro-PLO favoritism. Loud play was given to two UN officers caught smuggling weapons into Israel earlier this year. The UN dismissed the incidents as "unfortunate but isolated."

Another oft-repeated Israeli accusation is that PLO raiding parties are allowed to cross UN lines on their way to targets

Continued on page 18.

ITALY

PART II The Autonomous Left

By Diana Johnstone

PADUA, ITALY

IN THE LATE '60s, ITALIAN WORKERS and students seemed ready to make the revolution. Their greatest fear was of a military coup, Greek colonels style. But the counter-revolution of the '70s has taken economic rather than political or military forms. Restructuring of the international capitalist economy has effectively countered mounting working class militancy, not by armed force, but by changing the very composition of the working class itself.

The heart of the current crisis of European Marxism is grave doubt about the ability of the industrial working class to play its historic role as "revolutionary subject." This doubt not only grows out of the recognized failures of the "socialist" societies produced by supposedly "working class" revolutions in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, but perhaps even more profoundly from the recomposition and dispersion of the industrial working class in the advanced capitalist countries. The factories that provided the class with a place to organize and act together are being snatched away from the workers.

The impact of these developments on revolutionary Marxism shows up most sharply in the theoretical efforts of the heirs to the Italian *operaists*—"workerist"—current of the '60s, precisely because *operaismo* went farthest in stressing the unique revolutionary role of the industrial working class.

The *operaisti* emphasized the central role of the industrial working class both in producing surplus value—profit—and in shaping the economic system by its struggles. Capitalist development is determined, not by its own laws, but by the struggle to control labor and make it produce surplus value.

Starting around 1960, Raniero Panzieri, Mario Tronti, Toni Negri, Massimo Cacciari, Alberto Asor Rosa and others developed a fresh Marxist analysis of relations between capital and labor in reviews such as the *Quaderni Rossi* and *Classe Operaia*, giving special attention to class struggle in the United States.

Seeing capitalist development as a response to worker struggles naturally leads to the assumption that the workers' movement must be strongest and most combative where capitalism is most advanced—that is, in the United States. They saw little to hope for from Third World revolutions. In sharp contrast to the prevailing Gramscian approach of the Italian working class movement, with its attention to cultural hegemony and political alliances, the *operaista* current in the '60s vigorously supported purely economic factory worker struggles for higher wages as a direct attack on surplus value and thus the most revolutionary demand.

In the mid '60s, the original *operaista* group began to come apart over the attitude to take towards the PCI. Tronti, Cacciari and Asor Rosa chose the PCI, against Negri's insistence on organizing an autonomous vanguard party.

An autonomous vanguard.

That vanguard party was *Potere Operaio* (Workers Power), formally constituted in September 1969 as a highly disciplined, neo-Leninist cadre group aimed at leading factory workers' wage battles into "moments of mass collision able to corrode the reality of the state," in Negri's words. At its peak around 1971-72, *Potere Operaio* had some 150 sections and cells in work places throughout Italy,

with 4,000 registered militants, about a fourth of them full-time. Their militant life-style made them the most single-minded of the extraparlimentary left groups that proliferated in that period. Negri recently called the political cadre trained by *Potere Operaio* "the salt" of the whole movement that came afterwards.

Potere Operaio was thrown into crisis after the March 1973, "Red Week" in Turin, when for the first time workers occupied and totally shut down the gigantic FIAT automobile factory. Factory workers showed they were ready to sabotage production rather than let capital extract the major part of its surplus value from their labor. At this point, the factory workers movement had gone as far as it could go. The class confrontation was so violent that both labor and capital had to look elsewhere, outside the factory. The workers' movement was brought under the control of the unions and indirectly of the PCI, which directed it toward political goals, while capitalist restructuring began to undermine the strategically central position of the industrial working class.

Trained to view capitalist develop-

ment as essentially determined by the need to fight workers' power, the veterans of the *operaista* movement were ready to spot and analyze the latest developments, not as some "crisis of the system," but as a deliberate capitalist counterattack against the movement of the '60s. "Capitalist restructuring began to show up as a colossal operation on the composition of the working class, an operation disintegrating the form taken by the class in the '60s," Negri recalled. This operation was coordinated by the state, with the collaboration of the major political parties.

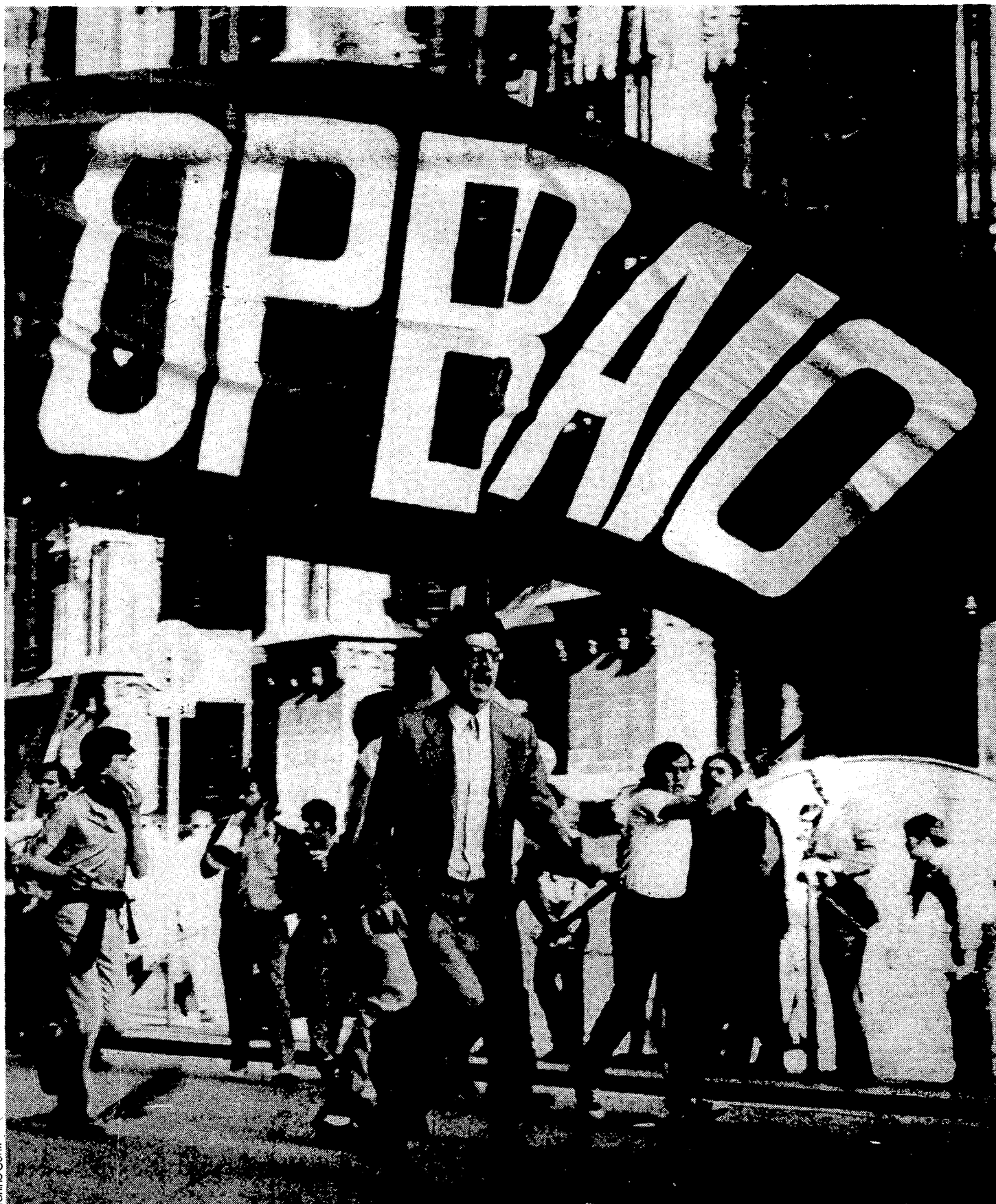
Thus, when *Potere Operaio* held its June 1973 convention in the Adriatic port of Rosolina near Venice and Padua, the debate centered on how to carry the struggle outside the factory. Negri's group argued for a political program of spreading the rebellious worker behavior of the big factories—non-collaboration, endemic conflict, absenteeism, refusal to work, sabotage of profit-making—throughout the whole industrial fabric. This group, focusing on building the mass movement, was opposed by another, more concerned with strong leadership

"to prevent the class enemy and the party system from neutralizing the subversive charge of worker behavior," in the words of Franco Piperno, who played a leading role at Rosolina.

According to *Potere Operaio* leaders, at Rosolina the two sides of the organization, mass movement and vanguard, redefined as "autonomy" and "counterpower," began to split. Over the next few months, the organization fell apart, producing what Piperno calls "a sort of diaspora in the old and new left."

According to Judge Pietro Calogero, who had Negri and 14 others arrested last Apr. 7, the split at Rosolina was a fake, and what really happened was a secret division of the organization between building the "autonomous" mass movement on the one hand and on organizing military "counterpower" to strike at the state on the other. The "counterpower" allegedly included the Red Brigades (actually founded in 1970 by Trento sociologist Renato Curcio).

According to Negri, on the contrary, the years 1974-76 were devoted to study of the new composition of the working class, producing new theories that were



Tony Negri leading a demonstration of *Potere Operaio* (Workers Power), one of the more single-minded groups in the extraparlimentary left. Negri has been arrested by the police who believe he is connected to the Red Brigades.

dramatically confirmed by the emergence of the "autonomy" movement in 1977.

The new revolutionary subject.

The autonomy of Negri and his school means autonomy from the PCI and the labor unions as the institutional forms used by the state to maintain capitalist power and recompose the working class.

Factory workers—the "mass worker"—taken in hand by the unions and the PCI, can no longer be the "revolutionary subject" able to overthrow capitalism for communism because production of surplus value has been taken elsewhere. The trick is to create a new "revolutionary subject" by sabotaging the production of surplus value throughout the social fabric.

Advanced capitalism, on an international scale, has moved production of surplus value out of the range of traditional labor demands by setting the moment of maximum profit-taking either before industrial production, as with increased oil prices, or after it, in the services sector, not to mention various obscure financial manipulations. Since Keynes, the state has been necessary to the survival of capitalism. In Italy, much major industry has been state-owned since fascist times and, far from producing profit, is government subsidized. Private and profitable FIAT has sped up drastic reorganizing, moving operations to countries with less demanding labor, in Latin America or Eastern Europe, while automating home operations, cutting factory workers on the payroll to a minimum and sub-contracting to small non-unionized enterprises. Italy has prospered in the '70s thanks largely to the so-called "submerged economy" of undeclared, and thus illegal, small unit production, piece work and cottage labor, out of range of official statistics and organized labor demands. Figures on the amount of spendable money in Italy indicate that up to 40 percent of the gross domestic product is "submerged." The submerged economy employs an estimated 6,000,000 people.

According to Marxist theory, the "revolutionary subject" must be the worker strategically located at the production of surplus value. Since production of surplus value has been diffused through society, the "revolutionary subject" must also be diffused through society—if a "revolutionary subject" indeed exists. Negri has no doubt of it. He picks up the pieces of this shattered, reshuffled, dispersed and divided working class—including unemployed, lumpen, students—and unites them in the figure of the "diffused" or "societal worker" (*operaio sociale*), not marginalized, but the new producer of surplus value whose rebellion against it, whose refusal to work for capital, whose struggle of "self-valorization" and expression of "needs," can sabotage capitalism's latest (last?) strategy and create communism.

The actual identity of this new "revolutionary subject" tends to be very subjective indeed. This theoretical role, and the "traditional combative behavior of the working class," seems to be about all there is in common between students who don't want to be marked on exams, bus passengers who refuse to pay increased fares, women who demand wages for housework and squatters occupying abandoned houses. Since the situation and concept are new, the old violence acts as a sort of cement, the unifier bringing people across the line of capitalist legality (the rules of the state) into the "area of autonomy" that is its antithesis: communism.

The Negri group does not expect Autonomy violence to trigger a right-wing military coup, because advanced European capitalism needs more sophisticated control mechanisms. Thus, bourgeois democracy has been restored to Greece, Spain and Portugal, and "Eurocommunism" is tolerated to assure collaboration of the tamed portion of the working class—organized employees with secure jobs—now that the "mass worker" is no longer a "revolutionary subject," but merely an interest group.

Autonomy defends violence as the working class tradition of struggle against capitalist violence. It tries to solve the problem of the vanishing "centrality"

of the factory proletariat by putting "centrality" everywhere. Negri combines brilliant insights into capitalism with very dubious revolutionary prophecies. His could be the last major attempt at applying Marxism globally as a revolutionary science based on identifying and encouraging a "revolutionary subject" whose struggles must lead to communism.

"Socialism," according to Negri, can never be a transition to communism. Rather, it is "the highest form of the economic rationality of capital." Communism will not come through a dialectic process, but by a total confrontation between capitalism in its highest stage and the "societal worker" whose violence expresses the "need for communism." There can be no more dialectic, no more compromise: communism is the total, uncompromising destruction of capitalism. "Every utopia is possible."

Negri's Marxism has always interpreted working class struggle in an almost mystical way, that is, by final causes, by

five of his colleagues—Luciano Ferrari Bravo, Alisa Del Re, Sandro Serafini, Guido Bianchini and Paolo Benvegno. Also arrested in Padua were editor Emilio Vesce, physics professor Ivo Gallimberti, teacher Marco Sturaro, bookshop militant Massimo Tramonte, doctor Carmela Di Rocca and journalist Giuseppe Nicotri. The last two were freed in July for lack of evidence.

Negri's remaining colleagues, themselves facing the threat of arrest, have organized the "April 7th Committee" to support arrested Autonomy people. The committee points out the extreme vagueness and generality of the accusations, the absence of concrete proof, the backwards procedure of arresting people first and trying to build the case against them afterwards, largely out of distorted interpretations of political writings.

Police patrolling Padua pick up strangers for questioning and intimidation by the vanload.

Yet the committee has had a hard time



Franco Piperno, before (left) and after (right) he went underground.

'Socialism,' according to Negri, can never be a transition to communism. Rather, it is 'the highest form of the economic rationality of capital.'

the "communism" that the "revolutionary subject" is historically destined to bring about.

PCI vs. autonomy.

There is one point of substantial agreement between both sides in the warring Italian left: the key economic position of the traditional industrial working class is being steadily reduced by capitalist restructuring. The strategic concentration of factory workers in the center of the production of surplus value, of capitalist profit, is being broken up.

Today, Massimo Cacciari, PCI member of parliament from Venice, argues that *operaismo* is dead. "In the 1970s, *operaismo* doesn't fit," he says. "Nobody is *operaista* and least of all Negri." The Marxist argument that production and profit is centered in the factory no longer holds. Production of surplus value is being socialized, spread throughout society.

For Cacciari, if the working class is no longer central economically, it is still central politically, in that "social transformation is not possible without the struggle of the working class in its historic organizations." He has embraced the PCI strategy of seeking class alliances to move towards socialism through the democratic political system, by way of reforms and economic planning.

The intellectual headquarters of Negri's Autonomy movement lies an hour inland, in Venice's ancient sister city of Padua. Padua's 700-year-old University has nearly 60,000 registered students and important departments of nuclear physics, psychology and political science. The Padua Political Science Institute was decimated Apr. 7 when police arrested Professor Negri on charges of organizing "armed insurrection," along with

drumming up even minimal support from people not usually indifferent to human rights and the danger of police repression. This is simply because many feel that, while Negri is almost certainly not "the brains behind the Red Brigades," neither is he completely innocent of two years of political violence in the name of Autonomy.

Mini-war in Padua

March 14, Professor Guido Petter, director of the Psychology Institute, was attacked on his way home in Padua by several masked youths who beat him savagely over the head with hammers and iron bars. He was hospitalized with serious injuries. The attack was claimed by the "Organized Communist Proletarians."

One week later, the head of the Literature and Philosophy Department, Professor Oddone Longo, was beaten in the same way, this time by the "Proletarian Armed Patrols."

Philosophy professor Umberto Curi, a 38-year-old veteran of the *operaista* movement and a member of the PCI, publicly blamed the Autonomy movement for the attack on Longo. The next day, his university office was gutted by a mysterious fire.

Altogether, over 250 fires, bomb blasts, beatings, "knee-cappings" and other attacks on persons and property, including an occasional murder, have been committed in the Padua region in the past year and claimed by groups using nearly 50 fierce-sounding names, such as the "Fighting Core for Communism," the "Armed Front Against the High Cost of Living," "Armed Proletarians Against Grades and Repression," and so on.

The April 7th Committee displays little interest in such attacks, which they see mainly as a pretext for a "campaign

against Negri."

But other Paduans, including independent or "extraparlimentary" leftists, are convinced the attacks have been deliberately encouraged by Autonomy leaders to intimidate their political rivals in the high schools and university, where they have held sway over the student movement since 1977. "These people have kept us out of politics for three years," a former new left student leader complained bitterly.

How do they do it? According to their critics, by a combination of intimidation and exorbitant demands that appeals to a generation more rebellious than political, happier being "anti" than achieving reasonable goals. Non-Autonomy leftists who would like to organize traditional political protest to obtain improvements say they are shouted down by "all or nothing" demands of Autonomy who would rather wreck the joint or burn someone's car. "The result of Autonomy action is conservative, because it blocks reforms that could make Italy social democratic—that is what they want to prevent," says professor Curi. Autonomy practices a "scorched earth policy" that burns out one issue after another, but enables them to recruit militants.

Theoretically, Autonomy condemns Red Brigades terrorism, in contrast to its own "mass violence," such as beating up strikebreakers, which it defends as a continuation of working class self-defense. Violence and terrorism are obviously not the same thing. Breaking bus ticket dispensers because fares have been raised is violence, and to most people stupid and counterproductive, but it is not terrorism. But how does one classify ambushing and beating a professor over the head with hammers? Autonomy violence has veered ever closer to terrorism.

Autonomy intellectuals interpret such violence as the revolutionary expression of the new working class. Judge Calogero interprets it as part of a minutely organized plot to overthrow the state. Then there is a wider range of sociological explanation viewing it as a complex product of Italy's political traditions and the social fragmentation of the '70s. Some maintain that the same socio-economic process that in the U.S. produces religious sects and crime (whose daily violence far surpasses Italy's political and criminal violence combined,) in Italy produces things like the "Proletarian Armed Core Groups."

Autonomy intellectuals, sure that they are right and that PCI strategy is a disaster to be sabotaged at all costs, have not been above aspiring to harness youthful violence to their ends. Seeing its hopes for peaceful reformism threatened, and frightened of the escalating violence, the PCI is fighting Autonomy by the legal and institutional means at its disposal. Autonomy supporters tend to see the PCI in conspiracy with the capitalist state, just as Calogero and part of the PCI see Autonomy in conspiracy with the Red Brigades.

Conspiracy theories have always flourished in Italy—and so, for that matter, have conspiracies. But which conspiracy? Before Calogero came up with his conspiracy theory linking Autonomy to armed insurrection and the Red Brigades, people around the PCI were likelier to suspect Autonomy of conspiring to keep the PCI out of the government and preserve the status quo. "How come Negri gets visas every time he wants to go to the U.S.?" PCI members, who have troubles in that respect, would ask darkly.

The feud between Autonomy and the PCI differs from some previous Marxist "religious wars" in one striking respect—neither side claims to be orthodox, and indeed each claims to be farther from old-line Leninism and the Soviet model than the other.

Autonomy intellectuals have been growing more clearly critical of violence, while doubts are growing in the PCI about Calogero's accusations. Meanwhile, the Christian Democrats are still running the State, with the PCI back in opposition, and terrorism continues. Nobody seems clearly in control of events, and the connection between the Autonomy intellectuals and violence, like that between the PCI and the Christian Democrats may turn out to be not a conspiracy but a crossroads of cross purposes. ■



Union local president William Magee (above) faced dirty tricks by the boss' son, "Little Joe," and his union-busting consultants.

LAUREL, MISSISSIPPI

THE MAKESHIFT TENT, WITH its fluttering, bright plastic pennants around the door, offered little refuge from the sodden heat of Mississippi in August. But it was the only shelter in the open field beyond the new cyclone fence surrounding Sanderson Farms. A dozen women gathered in its shade.

Myra Seals kept leaping up whenever she saw a car, a truck, or a passing stranger. "Where are you going? What you doing in there?" she shouted with imperious anger. "Scab! I don't want to catch you in there." She was protecting her strike, now nearly half a year old.

Six months is a long time to be on strike, with benefits that started at \$30 a week now trailing off to \$15. But the strikers were no strangers to lean times: when they were working, they were making \$2.95 to \$3.15 an hour on the disassembly line where chickens are killed, cleaned, cut up and packaged, slightly more than the federal minimum wage of \$2.90 an hour (Mississippi, in line with much of its labor legislation, has no state minimum wage).

The women gathered on the picket line had not gone out on strike for more money, although they would like better pay. Rather they decided that Joe Frank Sanderson, Jr.—"Little Joe," grandson of the founder of the firm—made working conditions intolerable.

The work was hard and had been getting harder: hanging up 140 live chickens on the line each minute (up recently from 100 a minute), cutting a major incision in 60 chickens a minute, "venting" (making a cut and pulling out the chicken's guts) 20 to 24 a minute, completely cutting up five whole chickens a minute. Lennie Myrick, 52, one of the few white women working in the plant, had worked at a lot of factories before, including other poultry plants. "That's the most work I'd ever seen," she said, while marching on a Saturday morning protest through downtown Laurel. "I said, 'You people work too hard.' That was also the first time I was ever yelled at. In another chicken place the line was barely moving by comparison. My Daddy raised me to work on the cotton patch, so I know how to work hard."

But it wasn't just the arbitrary and strict rules, the low pay, the safety hazards, the hard work and the casual violation by management of their feeble contract that angered the workers at Sanderson Farms, most of whom were black women. "We really feel it's a question of human dignity," Gloria Jordan, 46, vice-president of the local union, said. "They didn't have no manner of talking to you like human beings. They

order you in a loud tone of voice. They don't care if you're hurt."

"All they're concerned about it seems is those chickens," Alice Musgrove, 41, mother of seven and a six-year employee at Sanderson Farms, said. "One of my children called to tell me one day that another of my children was sick. They didn't tell me right away about the call. When I said I was going home, because I had lost one child when I was working on another job, the foreman was saying I shouldn't be so concerned about my own blood."

Who shall overcome?

The strike at Sanderson Farms is not the only tough fight that labor faces in the South, but it gives a sense of what unions are up against throughout the region. There are difficulties with anti-union employers like "Little Joe" and the professional union-fighting firms they hire. There are problems with hostile community leaders and hobbling laws, such as Mississippi's right-to-work law. But there are also problems that arise from the culture and the experience of many workers and from within the labor movement. When the few dozen community supporters joined some strikers for a Saturday morning march to city hall, they sang once again "We Shall Overcome." There is a lot to be overcome. It has already taken a long time.

Laurel, Mississippi, is a county seat that dramatically contrasts some of the most progressive and the most reactionary aspects of the South's history. During the Civil War, Jones County broke away from the Confederacy and declared itself the Free State of Jones, its sovereignty defended by a guerrilla army under the leadership of Newt Knight. Later the county had the only substantial socialist vote in the state and elected local socialists to office, according to Ken Lawrence, a veteran organizer and labor historian. It was also the site of the first CIO organizing victory in Mississippi, at the local Masonite plant.

Yet it was also in the heart of Ku Klux Klan country. In the late '40s the Klan led the drive to break the CIO in Jones County. In 1948 a black man, Willie McGee, was executed for rape, despite the efforts of his attorney, Bella Abzug. Newt Knight's grandson, the descendant of Knight's relationship with a black woman, was also tried on a charge of miscegenation.

More recently Jones County, one of the more unionized counties in the state in the past, has been the scene of militant strikes and organizing efforts among poultry workers and the Gulf Coast pulpwood workers. In 1967 a bitter wildcat strike at the 2,300-worker Masonite plant dragged on for seven months. Hundreds

of workers were fired for fighting against the new management's work rule changes, which undercut the workers' considerable shop floor power. Jim Youngdahl, then attorney for the union, recalls serious racial tensions. The Klan tried to take over the strike and many blacks crossed the picket line. Management's success in breaking that strike dealt a serious blow to the image of unionism in that area.

During the '60s the civil rights movement did not affect Laurel as deeply as it did many other towns in the state, local activists now say. But the specter of violence against civil rights was glaringly evident. Laurel was home to some Klansmen, including the notorious Sam Bowers, who killed the three civil rights workers, Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner and James Chaney in 1964.

Local people also recall vividly the later killing of NAACP leader Vernon Dahmers. "They shot him up and burned his house," organizer Kim Pittman says. "You don't have to do that more than once every 25 years to frighten people." One of the men accused—but later acquitted—of murdering Dahmers was Charles Noble. Today he is a supervisor at the Sanderson Farms plant in Laurel. Nearly all of the foreman and supervisors there are white men.

The two traditions of Jones County and of the South come up against each other at Sanderson Farms. William Magee, 39, now president of the local, was urged to start a union by his father-in-law, who was a union man at Masonite, the original CIO stronghold. Virtually nobody at the Sanderson Farms plant in 1972 had ever belonged to a union, but workers were upset with the arbitrary authority of management. A minister made contact with a union—nobody seems to remember how it happened to be the International Chemical Workers—but the workers organized themselves.

Joe Frank Sanderson Sr. fought the union vigorously but lost. Just before the balloting, Magee recalls, Sanderson called all of the workers to a meeting. In a commonplace anti-union tactic in the South, he had a table covered with groceries. Standing before them in his white three-piece suit, he explained how one could buy all of these groceries with a year's union dues. When he finished, the workers dutifully applauded, but their real sentiments were different. "Man," one of them whispered to Magee, "maybe if we get a union in here I can get one of them three-piece suits."

Corporate chicken.

D.R. Sanderson founded Sanderson Farms as a poultry growing and processing business in 1951 after a career as a salesman and a retail feed dealer. Gradually the

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BY DAVI

business expanded to include hatcheries, poultry farms, a feed mill and three plants capable of processing 180,000 chickens a day. As of 1977 its assets had grown to \$8 million, its annual sales were \$50 million, and its payroll numbered 1,200, making it one of the biggest poultry companies in Mississippi. (The state ranks fifth among the 50 states in broiler production.) The family owns 80 percent of the stock.

The industry has a reputation for low wages and bad working conditions. Estimates of the extent of unionization run from 30 percent (a United Food and Commercial Workers union representative) to a "majority" (the Mississippi Poultry Assn.). Sanderson Farm wages are typical for non-union plants: around \$3.10 or just above minimum wage. Union plants average around \$3.75 to \$4 an hour for the same work, according to James Paris of the Food and Commercial Workers.

The union contract at Sanderson Farms started weak and stayed that way. "The international rep didn't realize that our learning would be more help than him doing it for us," Jordan says. "Most of the time we didn't have a steward."

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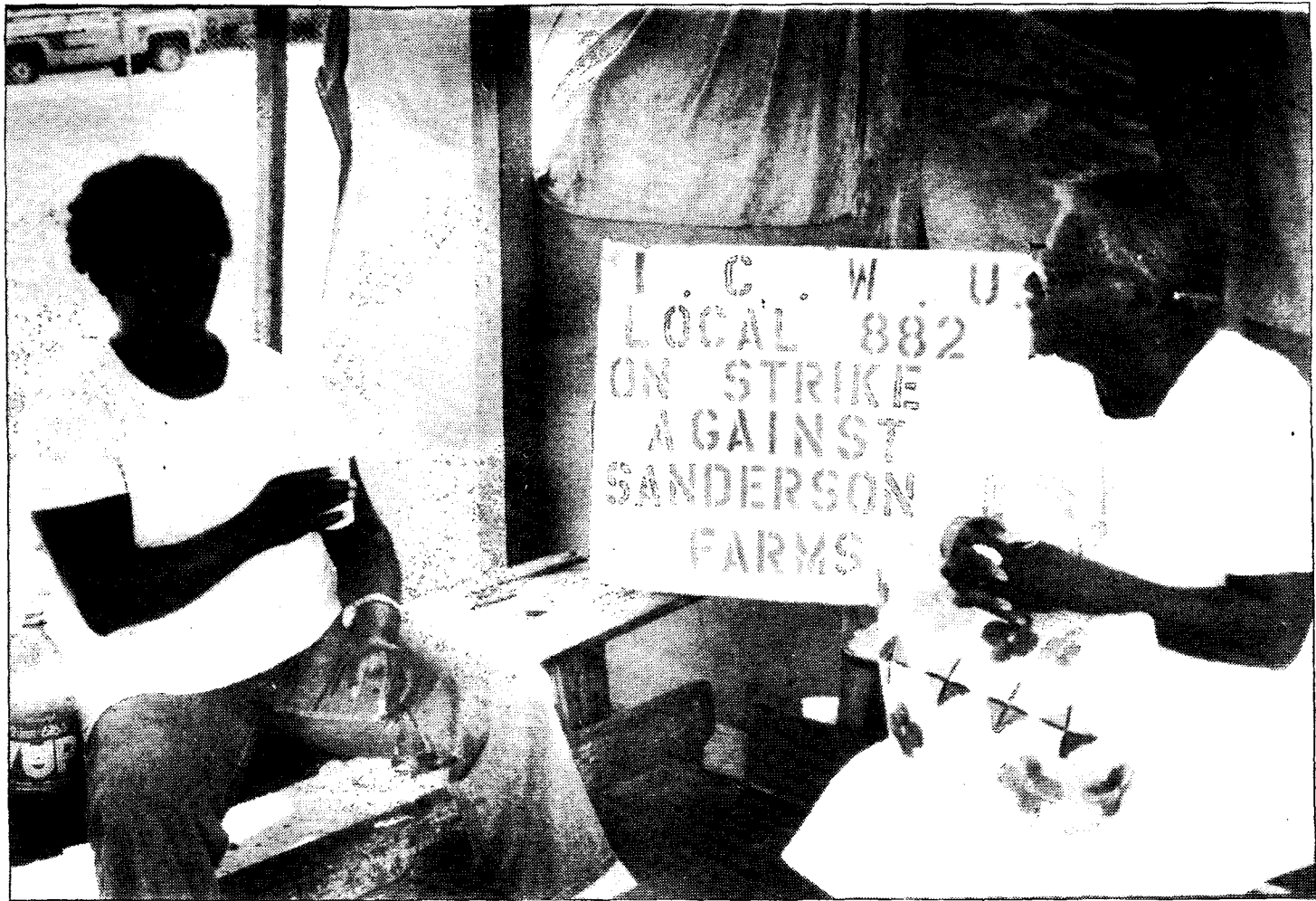
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The union came close to striking during the last contract negotiations, but backed off partly because it feared it lacked the strength. Meanwhile, many workers drifted away from the union. The local won some grievances in arbitration, but others had to be dropped because it couldn't afford to fight them. By last fall the union membership had dropped to 44 out of approximately 375 workers in the plant. The remaining union activists became convinced that Sanderson was systematically firing union people in an effort to eliminate the union altogether. Part of the union's problem stemmed from the high turnover: Sanderson had to hire 213 new people in 1978 to maintain his work force.

The international union, a roughly 85,000-member AFL-CIO affiliate based in Akron, Ohio, sent down a special organizer to bolster the local. Under president Frank Martino the union has shown signs of increased vigor and openness to left politics. In an attempt to strengthen the union's work in the South, international representatives and new black organizers were sent in and older, white officials shifted aside. Membership climbed to around 200 shortly before the con-



They were almost all black women, working for a few white men, cutting up five whole chickens a minute. They needed a union, and they struck for it.

tract was due to expire on Feb. 26.

"Little Joe" had already offered the union a raise of 50 cents an hour for extending the contract 18 months. Since the minimum wage was scheduled to increase by 45 cents by January 1981, this would keep wages just a slight step ahead of the legal minimum. Besides, strikers insist, they were most concerned about the contract language, rules and working conditions. Hubert Mills, then the international representative, urged the local to accept Sanderson's offer.

What workers want.

The local instead presented a long list of contract changes that would give them more power. They wanted a change in the absenteeism policy: workers only six minutes late for work had been counted as absent and three absences within 60 days were grounds for firing. Also, to force people to accept overtime, anyone who refused was counted as absent for the whole day. They wanted toilet breaks as needed, 15-minute rest breaks twice a day, company-paid insurance and more vacation. (Now workers get one week after a year's work, two weeks maximum, but frequently they were told they couldn't take vacation because there were no relief workers.) They wanted a strong seniority system. Under Little Joe people were arbitrarily transferred and had no claim to the better jobs on the basis of their tenure. They wanted a safer plant—guards on the saws, knives sharpened, freedom to go to the doctor when injured. They wanted to be able to negotiate the line speed, which Sanderson now can raise at will. The list went on and on, and they hadn't even spelled out pension and wage demands yet.

The union and company negotiators met three times before the deadline. The local even offered to extend the contract. But the company offered no response or counter-proposal, claiming that the demands were so numerous and overwhelming that they didn't know where to start. "We had a union here for six years and we were never accused of anything like this," Sanderson, Jr., told me. "We really don't know what's going on." There was agreement to change the notorious rule allowing three trips to the bathroom a week, but little else. The union took a strike vote, which was overwhelmingly approved.

The day before the contract expired "Little Joe" called each shift into a meeting and threatened that all strikers would be replaced immediately, starting with the better-paying "upgrade" jobs. Then he asked anyone who had questions to come into his office individually. The threat seemed to have cowed many of the second shift workers, judging

from numbers who later crossed the picket line. But on the first shift, Magee stood up and asked Sanderson why people couldn't ask their questions in the group so everyone could hear the answers. Sanderson blew up, told Magee to sit down and shut up, and threatened to throw him in jail. Soon afterwards police were seen in the building.

Magee's willingness to stand up precipitated a confrontation that strengthened many workers' determination. His comrades now wonder how much more might have been accomplished if he had

refused to sit down and the police had hauled him off. As strikers sit on the picket line, some now muse, "We all ought to have gone to jail, filled it up. We haven't been violent, but I sure wish we had."

The next day, in response to an agreed phrase—"This is it,"—three union leaders led out the day shift strikers. The union estimates that roughly 80 workers refused to strike. Since then six strikers have returned, and Sanderson Farms has

Union Victories in the South

The labor movement in the South has recently won some sweet victories, at least on its fringes in the border states and in the Southwest. After four failures, the United Rubber Workers organized the rapidly growing truck tire plant of Firestone in Nashville, Tenn. In its first crack at the new General Motors assembly plant in Oklahoma City, the United Auto Workers succeeded handily.

After the Rubber Workers lost their Nashville election in summer 1977, even though they had a strong majority signed up for the union, they filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board that the company had destroyed their support through threats, coercion and intimidation. The Board ordered the company to bargain with the union. It refused and filed extensions, so the union went on strike June 30. During the national contract talks, both sides agreed to abide by another, independently conducted election, conducted while the workers were still on strike. This time the union won 600 to 157.

"I think it was because they were out from under daily supervision," district director Tom Taylor said. "They got out on the picket line and lost their fear." Part of the union's problems in the past had come from newer workers; the company told them they would be laid off if the union won. The union also strengthened its hand by getting a majority of workers to designate the union as bargaining agent before the election, rather than simply getting the minimum number needed to call an election.

In Oklahoma City, General Motors was committed to a neutrality policy, but the UAW contends that local management violated the pact. They introduced a "TEAM" concept, which borrowed the rhetoric of work enrichment programs. Each 12-18 member

team would decide on promotions, time off, overtime and other issues. Union organizer Carlton Horner warned workers that "the team is not going to make any decisions once the system gets filled up." That turned out to be true, and "workers rebelled against the TEAM system. They'd vote to work eight hours a day and the foreman would say, 'We don't give a goddamn what you voted. We're going to work nine hours.'"

The Chamber of Commerce, the local newspaper and anonymous groups fought the UAW. Also thousands of anti-union leaflets would somehow appear at work stations in the morning, even though no workers were supposed to be in the plant on third shift. Then one day pro-union workers discovered stacks of anti-union literature in the executive garage of the plant. That incident led to a temporary suspension of the start of GM contract talks in Detroit.

The vote of 1479 for and 658 against the union was impressive, since the area is not strongly unionized and since workers in the plant were receiving wages and benefits that matched the union contract. But local business leaders criticized GM for not living up to its pledge to keep out the UAW if the state gave them concessions to locate in Oklahoma City. Now the UAW hopes to organize a Rockwell International plant there.

Also this summer the Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers organized the 328-worker factory of YKK Zippers in Macon, Georgia. The Japanese-owned firm, employing anti-union consultants, fought vigorously against the union. Service Employees won representation of 900 workers at the Baptist Hospital in Beaumont, Texas, in August, the first hospital-wide victory in a non-profit hospital in the state. Despite professional opposition tactics, the union won by a four to one vote.

Massa

Continued from page 13.

hired enough—many of them reportedly white—to run one shift. Although negotiations continued, they were fruitless and broke off in June. In May, the National Labor Relations Board issued a complaint charging the company with bargaining in bad faith. Its appeal will be heard Oct. 29, and more appeals and other delaying tactics can be expected as the company follows the advice of its law firm, Kullmann, Lang, Inman and Bee—one of the oldest, most established “union-busters” in the South. (See sidebar.) The company was also assessed a penalty for violating the child labor laws by hiring a 13-year-old strikebreaker.

Last spring a petition was circulated—and circumstantial evidence suggests that the company was actively involved—to decertify the union. Since there was already a charge of unfair labor practices, the vote cannot proceed, but the company recently announced that it was no longer recognizing the union as a bargaining agent. Strikebreaking employees got a 20 cent an hour raise.

To win, organize.

To gain greater leverage against Sanderson Farms, the International Chemical Workers (ICW) tried to organize the one plant without a union, in Hazelhurst, Mississippi. (The one in Louisiana has a Food and Commercial Workers local.) Robert Chinn, president of a Jackson ICW local and a civil rights movement veteran, was sent in to organize. Chinn drove up to the plant one day and announced to workers leaving their shift that he wanted to talk union. Soon there was a small committee that had union authorization cards signed by 130 of the 199 workers.

But the onslaught from the company and its consultants was overwhelming. Workers were deluged in the plant and at home with threatening letters. If the union came in, they wrote, “you could lose some of your present benefits, your pay could be cut, your job could be eliminated, you could end up with less than you presently have.” A leaflet mentioned four plants in Mississippi—“all four had unions—all four are now closed.... Vote for real job security. Vote NO!”

The specter of strikes—such as the one in Laurel—was raised repeatedly. And in a final reminder, a black worker speaks out on a leaflet titled “Don’t Make a Mistake”: “I’m voting no union for my family and myself...I’m voting no dues, no strikes, no fines, no violence, NO UNION!”

Chinn said that management brought strikebreakers from Laurel to Hazelhurst twice and took some employees to the struck Laurel plant to portray the strike as a failure. Management showed anti-union films and held propaganda meetings, excluding union committee members whenever possible. There were individual talks with employees. There was a promise of a 50 cent an hour pay raise (which turned out to be only 20 cents). And there were the lightly veiled threats, such as the message rubber-stamped on the final paycheck before the balloting: “A Strike Will Stop This Check.”

The union lost 101 to 85, the third defeat for a union at Hazelhurst.

Why workers scab.

Why, working under such conditions, do workers reject a union or cross a picket line? Chinn blames “harassment and the lack of knowledge about unionism” for the defeat. Many of the workers were poor country people who had never had another job. They were both grateful for what they had and scared of something that seemed unknown.

Younger people supported the union more than the older at Hazelhurst. “I think a lot of the people are old and just don’t know anything about a union,” organizing committee member Charlene Tanner said. “A lot of them grandmas just don’t want to listen to what you have to say if you’re young.” But in

Laurel many of the strikebreakers are the younger workers, new to the job and desperate for some money to support their babies.

Beulah Ramsey, 48, another Hazelhurst union backer with 20 years experience in the factory blamed ignorance and inexperience: “They’re satisfied because it’s more money than they’ve ever made. They don’t know what a union is. Some can’t even read or write. And some of ’em just love Little Joe. They’d just be clapping for Master Joe.”

The old deference of blacks to whites, of serfs to lords and of women to men has not passed from the Mississippi scene, despite civil rights movement victories. Workers compare the new South industrial plants to the Old South plantations. “Little Joe always used the term, ‘These are my people,’” Jordan said. “That’s a plantation phrase. He sincerely believes that.”

“There are still a lot of people who believe the white man is supreme,” says George Freeman, the international union director of community relations who has worked with the local since last fall. “They say, ‘I can’t cross Master Joe. He been good to me. He gave me a job.’ But the day comes when they can’t produce and they’ll be gone.”

Many of the supervisors and foremen make sexual advances toward the younger women or those seen as more vulnerable, workers charge. Many times, various women said, foremen would put their arms around them or play up to them

sexually to counter resentment of discipline or to persuade workers to accept orders.

“It’s a big thing for some people in the plant for a white man to put his hands on them,” Jordan said. “They hug and pet on them and rub on them—and then they forget the grievance.”

“Most people down here are kinda scared of unions,” Magee explained. “They feel if you start organizing the man will fire you. Now people if they got a job feel it’s the only one they can get. Most of the strikebreakers say they’ve got a car note, a color TV note. They also say you can’t make Joe move.”

Lack of education and lack of experience beyond their community also makes many workers, especially women on their first job, insecure.

Not all of the strikebreakers are hostile to the union, but some don’t understand the importance of solidarity. “What they was doing was right and I knew it,” Verlina Forthner, 21, a striker who returned to the job, said about the union. “But the company kept hiring and I was afraid I’d lose my job. I thought the union demands was fair. I hope they win and get what they want. I think unions are okay, but I don’t see any sense in having a union in Mississippi because of the right-to-work law.”

Moving labor forward.

Although the union charges Sanderson Farms with unfair labor practices in the Hazelhurst election, it lost that attempt

to open a new front in their battle. With the Laurel plant still operating, the union hopes that many of the strikebreakers are kids who will go back to school in the fall. They have also launched, with the support of the AFL-CIO, a national boycott of Miss Goldy brand chickens. In recent weeks they have also joined sporadically with a makeshift local coalition of civil rights activists.

There has not been strong support from the black community, which has a long tradition of disunity and political bickering. Only a few ministers have publicly backed the strikers. “My preacher said he ain’t got no time,” Grace Stevens, 37, said, “and I haven’t been to services since. If the preachers had asked people to stay out of the plant, I believe they would have.”

Similar difficulties have plagued the labor movement in Mississippi and much of the South in recent years. Despite the doubling of union membership in the past 20 years in Mississippi, industrialization has proceeded at an even faster pace. Union membership as a fraction of the non-agricultural work force has declined from 13.2 percent in 1970 to 11.6 percent in 1976. There has also been a decline in both the number of union elections during this decade and an uneven but generally downward drift in percentages of elections won.

Critics of the labor leadership, such as Ken Lawrence, claim that the union “efforts are really half-hearted. I think it’s partly because the majority of union members in the state are black and that poses a threat to the old guard of union leadership, which is white.”

Although some white union leaders, such as AFL-CIO state president Claude Ramsey, have supported the civil rights movement since the ’60s, many young black union activists and progressive politicians chide the labor movement for timidity and lack of aggressive organizing and political influence. Many of these heirs of the civil rights traditions see a revived labor movement as a leading mechanism for black progress. Some leaders, however, notably Charles Evers, the mayor of Fayette who sprang to prominence after the assassination of his brother Medgar, are vocally anti-union.

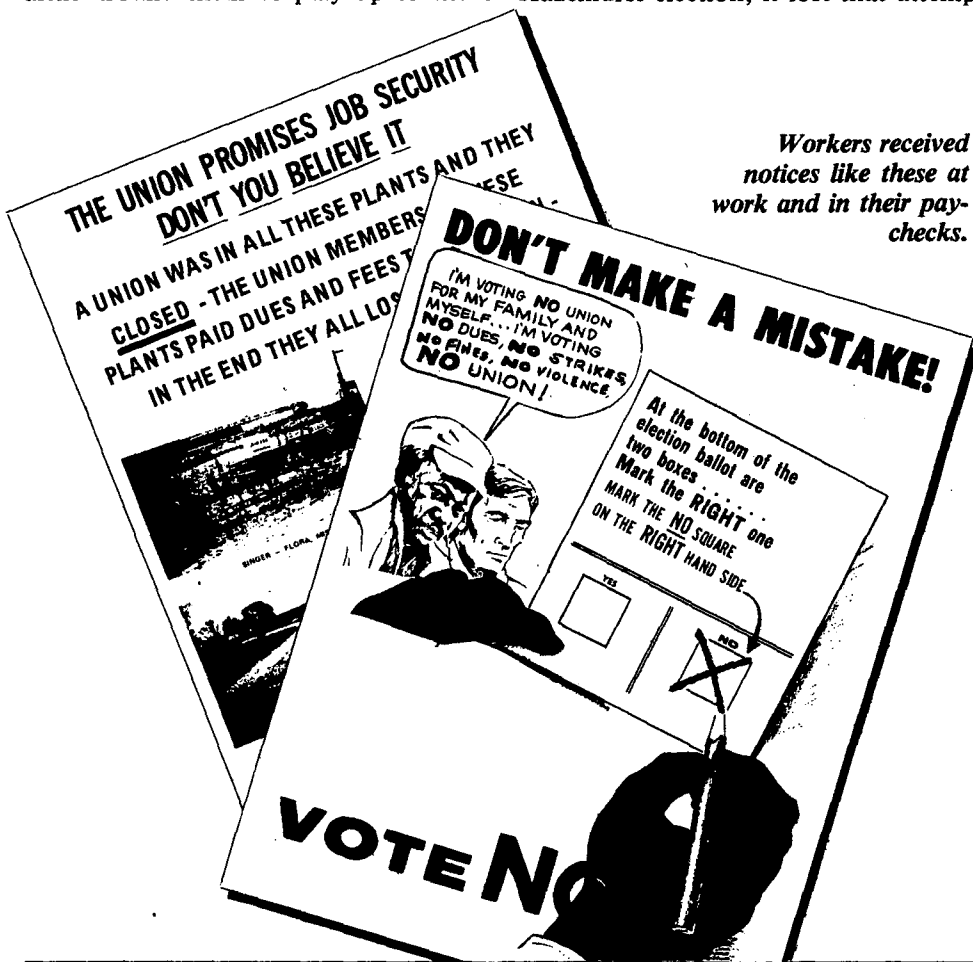
Union leaders blame anti-union consultants and the failure of labor law reform for many of their difficulties, but unions have managed nonetheless to establish themselves now in all sections of Mississippi. In every major town the biggest industry is organized, presumably a solid point of departure for tackling the tough, small shops.

The battle against Sanderson Farms will probably take more than victories in the courts and before the National Labor Relations Board. It will take even more than determination by the strikers if the union is to win. It will take pressure from the community, from progressive forces around the state, and from the broader labor movement and its supporters.

“If we don’t win this strike, it’s going to be hard on people other places,” Grace Stevens said. Alice Musgrove agreed: “Those places will say if Joe can get away working people the way he does, then why can’t we?”

It may take some time before such a sense of solidarity and its possibilities become part of the traditions of Mississippi workers—as sustaining as religious faith, as inspiring as the civil rights movement. But struggles such as those at Laurel and Hazelhurst, the penetration of unions into the life of communities throughout the state, and the conviction of many blacks that their progress now lies with the labor movement, all suggest a future for the labor movement in Mississippi.

Ella Sheehan, 25, mother of two, a worker at Sanderson Farms for five years, is one striker who has no regrets about her decision. “I made up my mind,” she said. “I’m not going back in without a contract. It would be like slavery. I feel a lot different being out here from being up there treated like a dog. It makes me want to fight harder, even for my kids, because they’ll have to work. It makes me feel good to have gone out on strike.”



Consultant is boss' best friend

The New Orleans law firm of Kullmann, Lang, Inman & Bee—consultant for Sanderson Farms—is one of the oldest, biggest “union busters” in the South.

“They have traditionally been associated with campaigns that result in numerous violations of the National Labor Relations Act—discharges, threats of plant closings, surveillance—and are experts at stringing out cases,” Charles McDonald, assistant director of the AFL-CIO’s department of organizing and field services, says. “It’s said that for a package of \$100,000 they’ll guarantee you won’t have a union for three years.”

A full-blown campaign such as the one Kullmann and Lang helped launch at Sanderson Farms against the union could easily cost \$50,000 to \$100,000, McDonald estimates.

“The legal consequences of unfair labor practices are so small and so late in coming that you might as well violate the law,” McDonald says. Often the tactics included carefully phrased threats—for example, your plant may close rather than it will close if a union comes—that violate the spirit but abide by the letter of the labor law. The basic strategy is simple: delay and hope time

weakens the union.

The AFL-CIO is now pressing the Labor Dept. to apply an ignored provision of the Landrum-Griffin Act that would require such firms to report their activities and finances. That would give unions some ammunition to use against these “outsiders” in organizing campaigns. Also, it has just succeeded in getting HEW to stop reimbursing federal contractors for such consultant expenses—an important victory since nearly one-fourth of National Labor Relations Board elections in recent years have been in the health care field. Next they hope to win the same ruling for defense contractors.

“Union-busting” consultant firms have proliferated in the last few years. They are partly responsible for the dramatic decline in union organizing success. In 1967, for example, 340,000 workers were brought into unions. In the recession year of 1975 the figure plummeted to 160,000 and since then—the period of greatest consultant activity—it has only recovered to a peak of 195,000 new members in 1977. Likewise, unions are winning fewer elections—around 48 percent compared to 57 percent in 1967.

LETTERS

KEEPING THE FAITH

I AM ONE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT LIBerals, although slightly on the raffish fringe, of which *These Times* is occasionally, and perhaps properly, critical.

I gladly accept this exercise in literal and well-reasoned abuse in return for their admirably unregulated view of other people, institutions and stuffed shirts. And I am sufficiently pleased with this exchange that I go well beyond reading to modest financial contribution. I would like to urge all other liberals and even tolerant conservatives to do the same. No one should imagine that all truth is available from the editorial page of *The Wall Street Journal*.

Enclosed is a contribution to keep the faith.

John Kenneth Galbraith
Cambridge, Ma.

SO, HOW ABOUT TRUCK DRIVERS

IT'S GOOD TO SEE COVERAGE OF TEAMster organizing efforts in the South (*ITT*, Aug. 21) and further recognition of individuals like IBT organizer Vicki Saportia.

One question is raised in my mind, however. When the Hell are the Teamsters going to start organizing "Teamsters" again. Only about 10 percent of the membership of the largest union in the country falls into that category, and while efforts are made to organize everyone from public employees to textile workers, "scab" freight lines, largely based in the South, continue to threaten the job security and hard-won gains of union truckdrivers.

The Teamsters owe their image of toughness to those drivers. With the majority of truckdrivers in the U.S. "non-union," it would seem the Teamsters might better direct their efforts into that area.

David J. Rathke
International Representative, ACTWU

DOUBLE-THINK

THE CLEER WITH WHICH THE LEFT greeted the triumph of a Moslem revolution in Iran has now turned to gloom as you begin to see that the material condition of women, intellectuals, and the left itself has worsened.

But this concrete experience has no impact on your evaluation of what a Palestinian victory might mean. There is only the barest acknowledgement that Arafat and the central leadership core has more in common with Ayatollah Khomeini than with the small socialist wing of Palestinians. Or that the PLO itself is increasingly tied to the politics and thought patterns of a militant nationalist and reactionary religious community.

Ironically, the left spends all its time denouncing Zionism because it gives special privilege to the Jewish people, while ignoring completely that every Arab state does the exact same thing for its Moslem population, and wants to set up an Arab state in Palestine, along lines very similar to the Moslem revolution in Iran.

Similarly, there is only the barest attention paid to the repeated theme of the Palestinian cause, a theme continually re-emphasized by the Arab rejectionist front: that a Palestinian state alongside a Jewish state is seen by all as a TRANSITIONAL DEMAND, and it is transitional to the next stage, which is the complete destruction of a Jewish state. You may not believe that that transition will take place, but it is as-

tounding that you completely ignore what the primary actors in this struggle think they are about.

How is such double-think possible? How can the Left ignore the concrete oppression that Arab states visit on their current minorities, and come to believe that Jews are being paranoid when they fear being a minority within a larger Moslem society? How can the Left ignore the treatment of women in Arab states? How can the Left consistently use a double standard in judging the wrongs of other states and the wrongs of Israel?

-Debbie Gonzalez
Oakland, CA.

BURCHETT, AGAIN

I AM SORRY THAT IN PRINTING MY letter (*ITT*, Aug. 15) you cut out two quotations thus perhaps leaving the impression that I was making accusations without offering proof. I would be grateful if you printed the following:

On Burchett: On May 21, 1975, The Guardian carried a front page article by Wilfred Burchett under the headline, "Cambodia: The Truth Behind the Lies." The opening sentences read as follows:

"'Bloodbath!' 'Forced evacuation!' ...What in the world is Washington up to these days in its propaganda campaign against Cambodia? None but the White House and CIA may know for sure—though dire predictions present themselves—but one thing is certain: 99 percent of the fantastic stories circulating about Cambodia since liberation last month are pure invention and the remainder is wild exaggeration."

The government in Cambodia which Burchett was then defending was the Pol Pot regime!

On Vietnamese nationalism: To cite one example among many, the scholarly publication *Vietnamese Studies*, No. 32, 1972 issued in Hanoi contains the article, "Ethnological Studies and Researches in North Vietnam" by Le Van Hao. In the course of this article the writer lauds a Vietnamese ethnologist who "points out certain fundamental features of the Vietnamese mentality: unyielding valour, traditional love of learning, respect of letters and scholars, patience in endeavours, endurance in face of hardship, love of refinement and delicacy in daily life—which is wished to be meaningful, discreet, brimming with thoughts and feelings—hospitality, loyalty, gratitude, love of the father land and the native place, aesthetic aptitude, ability for artistic creation" (page 31).

Elsewhere the writer claims that the "clarity" of the Vietnamese language "corresponds to the purity of the Vietnamese soul" (page 45).

I submit that this type of extravagant praise of the "mentality" of one's own people and the "purity" of its soul in a publication of the educational establishment in Vietnam is something less than proletarian internationalism. Surely this cannot make the non-Vietnamese in Vietnam rejoice.

Is it necessary to add that the observations above have nothing to do with the justness of the cause of the Vietnamese people in their heroic resistance to American imperialism and more recently to China.

-Sid Resnick
New Haven, CT

TEACHING MATERIALS

I RECEIVED YOUR PAPER AS A GIFT. I certainly do not agree with the viewpoints of many of the articles in the

paper, but I like reading it and consider it responsible and thought provoking.

"Display of Power," by Beth Bogart, (*ITT*, July 30) is especially interesting to me. I have been disturbed for some time, not only about museum displays by people with a "dog to sell," but about teaching materials provided public schools by special interests. At our last year's credit union meeting, a film provided without charge by one of the large car manufacturers was shown. It had been borrowed from a local public school and was presented as the evening's entertainment at the credit union meeting.

The film depicted life in the U.S. of the future with every aspect of life controlled by electricity—from "clean air" to physical education machines. An amazing look into a future controlled by big corporations and "big brother" type thinkers. As "education" for enlightened adults, it was most revealing, although not in the way intended. For most children it must have meant something else.

An investigation of such materials offered public schools should be made.

-Thelma Wright
Salinas, KS

THESE TIRESOME TIMES

WHY DON'T YOU TEPID LEFTIST HUMANIST/reformers quit trying to achieve the "progressive" reconstitution of capital! The dominant values are falling, while you and other professors like Lasch (instead of rejoicing) are naturally as threatened as your bourgeois friends.

Constantly *issues*, always what is *partial*: never anything even approximating a radical break with this stinking society. You champion voting, unions, etc. etc. right down the line of class society's last defenses.

You really should be getting govt./business grants for your efforts, you model citizens.

ITT bores me shitless, anemic leftists. Never send it again!

I hate this world & its defenders.

-John Zergan
San Francisco

OH, WHAT A RELIEF IT WAS!

IT WAS A RELIEF TO SEE ELAYNE RAPPING's article on JUNKIE CHIC (*ITT*, Aug. 5). It is a recent and vivid realization of my own that I am tired and feeling unrewarded by the pursuit of career. I work a 40 hour secretarial job in order to eat, and then spend another 40 hours at my career as theatrical producer, director and playwright. American theater functions through volunteer help, one is lucky to have the chance to work for free.

Fortunately, I don't have to concern myself with family. I DO have to take care of my apartment. My tasks as producer suffer from exhaustion on my part. If I take a three month break, my opportunities will be gone. At this point, I'm contemplating doing it for my own health.

What angers me are men who, being supported by girlfriends, or family, or unemployment, dare to criticize the state of my housekeeping and grooming. Fortunately, the man I date is starting to understand and help me, but it took near collapse to break through. I have no choice but to continue this way until I can earn a living in the theater, but instead of credit, I get pestered to become "Wonder Woman."

I am getting moments where I think it's not worth it and it's too late for me and I want to give up. I couldn't, of course and the decisions to modify my lifestyle are mine.

-Susan Reinhardt
Theater Center
Philadelphia

THERE MUST BE A CURRENT

I SUPPOSE THE EASIEST AND MOST MEAN-spirited way to respond to John Judis's report on the New American Movement Convention (*ITT*, Aug. 22) is to engage in an *ad hominem* attack that cites Judis's own retreat from NAM several years ago into the rightward drift as opportunism. Such criticism, however, would be as unfair to his political trajectory as Judis was to the political thrust of NAM left-wingers' critique of DSOC.

While there was a tendency toward overblown rhetoric (a common convention disease), to label the August 7 caucus as sectarian and dismiss it as "ex-Trotskyist members and wide-eyed collegians" is incredible myopia. Such myopia results from the crude pragmatism that lies at the base of Judis' and much of DSOC's politics. In their terms one becomes relevant by accepting the realities of power politics in America. (Judis' lament that there were too many references to "foreign" socialist strategists and not any to Americans might have been remedied by citing Ralph Waldo Emerson—"Hitch your wagon to a star"—in order to make Ted Kennedy more palatable.)

The ridicule Judis heaps on the admittedly pretentious call-to-arms of spectral revolutionaries could at least be tempered by recognition that the path to radical change in the U.S. isn't being cleared only by the members of Judis' own Church of the New Reformers. The fundamental social and cultural contradictions of modern life in America are going to require more than a new errand into the wilderness of American electoral politics.

While Judis may have escaped the moralism and posturing of the New Left for the pragmatism of "relevant" socialism, he has become blind to the very realities and visions that propel NAM forward. Those realities begin with the fact of the deep political disaffection on the part of the majority of Americans. Within that majority there must be a current that can create a context for the self-activity of the people.

NAM, and the August 7 Network, still strives to link the important insights of the New Left and the feminist movement into a fabric of transformative politics. That vision is not a call to sectarian purity or pragmatic power politics, but a real desire to give revolutionary form to the dissatisfaction of the American people.

-Fran Shor
Detroit

WHAT'S LEFT?

IT IS HARD FOR ME TO FIGURE OUT just what to make of a "leftist" publication that can "cover" the GE and Westinghouse labor negotiations (*ITT*, July 11) without even mentioning the existence of the United Electrical Workers. I'd like to dismiss this as a mere error, but it seems to fit all too well with the general rightward drift of your paper.

-Al Hart
Executive Board Member UE Local 506
Erie, Pa.

Editor's note: we regret not mentioning UE in our brief note on the GE and Westinghouse negotiations. The article, however, was a 200 word short, not an analysis of the role of UE or The International Union of Electrical Workers at these companies. While UE generally has a good record of militant activity, it makes no sense to think of UE as more or less "left" in relation to GE or Westinghouse than IUE.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

HARRY BRILL

Farmworkers' wages barely affect the prices consumers must pay

THE EXTREMELY INFLAMMATORY RHETORIC OF A MAJOR lettuce grower, typical agribusiness mentality, addressed to the demands of the striking lettuce workers in California—"but these people come from another country and they are forcing us into a highly inflationary contract"—could catch on with sections of the American public, who are being severely battered by skyrocketing food prices. ¶ Undoubtedly, the agricultural sector's contribution to food inflation has been considerable. According to the Department of Commerce, growers received almost 14 percent more than the prior year for their products. By contrast, their own costs, including labor, actually lagged behind the nine percent overall inflation rate. Agricultural profits, accordingly, climbed an incredible 30 percent.

Consumers certainly have plenty to be riled about. The blame, though, for bleeding the public, should not be imputed to the avarice of "these people from another country" but to the Dracula-like proclivities of domestic agribusiness.

As a result of the organizing drives of Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers (UFW), agricultural laborers in California are the nation's highest paid. Nevertheless, their income still confines them to poverty status. Most of the UFW lettuce workers earn \$3.70 an hour, working less than six months a year. The few who labor more, say 1200 hours, still gross under \$5,000. Those who work on a piece rate basis can earn \$8 to \$20 an hour.

These higher salaries have been publicized by the growers out of proportion to reality. Conveniently ignored is that these workers, performing heavy, stoop labor, must consistently work at a strenuous pace, moving as fast as their limbs will tolerate. Moreover, since they can only work part-time as well as part-year—finding second jobs in the off-season is the exception, not the rule—their annual incomes are also low. What is worse, after 10 years of hard labor, they are physically unfit to continue.

Tragically, a main economic accomplishment of the UFW, which, remarkably, has successfully organized in the virtual police state atmosphere of some of California's rural counties, has been to resist the intensification of agricultural poverty rather than to overcome it. Earnings since the first major contract in 1970 have barely risen after taking account of inflation, and in recent years, real income has actually declined.

So as to overcome the erosion of real wages, and to make some real advances, UFW had asked for a 40 percent increase. Its demand has since been greatly modified, but even had the union won, the

poverty of the farm workers would not have been abolished—it would only have made them less poor.

The perspective of the consumer is naturally different, as wage settlements are reflected in supermarket prices. Since farm workers harvest numerous crops, the impact of a particular wage on prices varies according to the product. But generally speaking, farm labor costs contribute only marginally to food prices. According to a detailed study by the Department of Agriculture of the costs of producing 10 different crops, farm labor accounted for less than 10 percent in all instances and dipped as low as five percent of total growers' costs. Obviously, the farm labor share of their retail value is even smaller.

Although lettuce production is labor intensive—the University of California is attempting to develop a lettuce harvesting machine for the growers—low wages and high worker productivity have kept labor costs down. The relatively higher paid piece rate worker, such as a lettuce cutter, averages only .08 cents per head of lettuce. In the aggregate, UFW harvest labor receives only 2.4 cents per head.

At the average retail price in 1978 of 59 cents for lettuce, this amounts to only four percent of the supermarket price. A 40 percent wage increase would have added less than a penny to the costs of a head of lettuce. The impact of profits on

prices is a very different matter. At 59 cents per head, the profit share is 19 cents, which equals 32 percent of the retail price. This is eight times the UFW harvest labor cost.

Moreover, the figures on profits taken as they are from information provided by the growers, are understated.

According to *Business Week*, farmers underreport their incomes by almost 50 percent. The Department of Agriculture calculates that in 1977, 48 percent of net farm income before taxes, which worked out to about \$9.5 billion, was unreported. For 1978, about \$13 billion was hidden from IRS and the public.

IRS acknowledges the problem but the agency claims that it lacks the resources to properly investigate and audit the growers. However, since it has been willing to allocate staff to audit almost as many as five percent of the itemized tax returns of those who are earning under \$10,000 a year, hardly a cost-efficient approach, IRS should not complain, as it does, that its 14,000 field agents and 5,500 auditors are spread too thin to crack down on agribusiness. In any case, the issue of unreported profits in agriculture, and incidentally, probably in other major industries as well, is extremely important for understanding what is, or is not, economically feasible.

Significantly, the growers could provide both substantial wage increases and lower prices at the supermarket without even touching their reported earnings. Wages and salaries paid in the agricultural sector were \$8.5 billion last year, which included the salaries of corporate officers, administrators, and other supervisory workers. So a third of last year's hidden profits of \$13 billion could have easily given farm laborers a 50 percent salary increase, and still another could have been returned to consumers via lower prices in the supermarket. The remaining third could have gone to the federal and state governments for income tax payments.

It is only by ignoring the exorbitant and unconscionable agribusiness profits that decent wages and reasonable prices are made to appear mutually exclusive.

The growers have been receiving a hand from another federal agency, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The agency's laxity has enabled the growers to recruit illegal aliens to harvest the lettuce crop, giving them leverage against the demands of the union. Rather than bargain in good faith, they decided to attempt to crush the UFW, which is why the strike, after

six months, remains unsettled.

It is not that INS is a political island, aloof from the concerns of official policy makers. President Carter, in fact, has actively encouraged INS' illegal non-enforcement stance. Earlier this year, he rescinded various measures aimed at reducing illegal border crossings, cutting by almost 300 the number of new agents whom he had once sought for the border patrol. The President claimed that he did not wish to offend the Mexican government, which had been concerned about keeping a safety valve for the country's unemployment problem.

Carter's action is quite important because it further encourages the malpractices of INS by making the Agency's laxity official policy. It is a bizarre immigration policy. The so-called safety valve function operates by relocating some of the tensions to American soil, where illegals are pitted against legal aliens—Mexicans against Mexicans. Because farm labor organizing is becoming more widespread, but legally admitting foreign labor to pass picket lines is strictly forbidden, illegal aliens are more urgently than ever needed by the growers.

The ability of UFW to win the strike depends greatly upon their preventing illegal labor recruits from crossing the lines. Mexicans who live near the American border are familiar with the situation and have refused to scab, forcing the growers to recruit from deeper into the Mexican interior. The union is attempting to persuade those who have been recruited to leave the fields.

UFW has also launched a national boycott of Chiquita Bananas, produced by United Brands, whose subsidiary, Sun Harvest, is the nation's largest producer of iceberg lettuce. Sun Harvest is among the growers that is being struck. Like other conglomerates, United Brands is able to support losses in one subsidiary by earning large profits in another. But the economic strength it draws from diversity is also its potential weakness.

UFW and its allies have to communicate persuasively to the public the horrendous plight of the farm worker. To their advantage, prompting a relatively small drop in sales could cause profits to plunge because, among other things, fixed overhead is high. And if the public realizes how, as consumers, they are being exploited by these same agribusiness interests, UFW should be well on its way to winning substantial support. ■

Harry Brill is professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts, Boston.

BOOKS

How the dignity of labor lost out

WORK WITHOUT SALVATION: America's Intellectuals and Industrial Alienation, 1880-1910.

By James Gilbert
The Johns Hopkins University Press, 240 pp. \$14.

By Daniel J. Walkowitz

In the late 19th century, while monolithically characterized business organization, hundreds of thousands of immigrants arrived in the U.S. filling overburdened cities.

Some joined labor unions or aligned themselves with anarchist, socialist or syndicalist groups.

As often happens in the U.S., radicalism, immigration, labor strife and urban dislocation were confused with each other in contemporary middle-class thinking as posing a combined threat to the social and political power of the ruling elite.

This sent tremors of fear throughout "respectable" society. At the same time, new industries and technologies—especially electrification and petro-chemicals—emerged. In this "second industrial revolution," old, familiar struggles over the social reorganization of work and law and order in the city were renewed and heightened.

This turbulent social world is the setting

for James Gilbert's most recent book on the work ethic.

Historians have written persuasively on mid-19th century efforts to inculcate factory discipline. But while regimented, such work still carried dignity and pride of skill. It was thought to forge the moral backbone of the sturdy mechanic. The work ethic underlay a moral code understood by manufacturers as essential to industrial productivity and labor harmony.

The degradation of work, however—deskilling and routinization that intensified at the end of the century—undermined the fragile but crucial nexus between morality and labor.

Gilbert's book traces the intellectual crisis that accompanied the crumbling of that nexus.

It places the crisis in the context of American capitalist development.

Gilbert compellingly argues that the behaviorist psychology that emerged in the early 20th century was designed to resolve the crisis by shifting attention from alienated work to "maladjusted" workers. That shift preserved the work ethic as a rhetorical device for ruling-class hegemony.

While most of the book examines a series of social institutions and movements as efforts to reintegrate the work

ethic into a mechanism for social organization, Gilbert focuses on philosophers and psychologists. New efforts to appraise individual worth in the machine age centered on a new sense of "human personality," best articulated by William James in his pragmatic and behavioral psychology.

Gilbert reveals the politicized turn-of-the-century world of social scientists grappling with the meaning of work and individual worth.

He describes "servants of power" who attempted to rediscover, reshape and redefine the individual in the arts and crafts, manual training, kindergartens, vocational education and confinement institutions.

Thus, as the title suggests, by the end of the 19th century, work had lost its moral underpinnings.

In this context, individual effort would matter less than an individual's "objectively" measured ability.

Gilbert does not investigate how workers met this crisis. But he impressively illustrates the behaviorists' quest to forge a new sociology and psychology that could serve as handmaidens for outside social control. We need to once again look at the history of 20th century labor struggles in terms of the success or failure of these new tools of hegemony. ■



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MANNING MARABLE

Spirituality combined with struggle is black religion's strength

IN EARLY AUGUST, THE Black Theology Project held its third annual conference in Cleveland. Led by the Reverend Muhammed Kenyatta, a group of about 40 black clergy and church leaders gathered to discuss the pressing social, political as well as religious issues facing black people. ¶ Initiated in 1977 in Atlanta, the Black Theology Project includes pastors from Methodist to Pentecostal faiths, religious community organizers and workers. The group advocates the building of a United Liberation Church of Jesus of Nazareth. The purpose of the new church would be primarily educational and political: to distribute religious instructional materials written from a black perspective; to provide a forum for political and social issues affecting the lives of people of color throughout the world.

In the words of the Black Theology Project's initial position paper of 1977, "Message to the Black Church and Community," the role of the Afro American preacher as spiritual and social activist is still viable. "With few exceptions, the church has attempted to address the spiritual needs of people while neglecting their physical and material requirements," the statement declared. The task of black faith is to use its "power" to advance the secular interests of blacks.

One of the more important, and perhaps controversial, aspects of the recent



conference was the Reverend Kenyatta's position that the famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail" be included as an additional book to the Bible. According to the *New York Times*, Kenyatta and his supporters "hope the idea will catch on at the grass-roots level and that by the year 2000 a Bible that includes the letter

as the final book will be widely available."

The proposition of including an essay written by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., in April 1963, into the Bible is not as improbable as it sounds at first. No American gave more than Martin toward the establishment of human justice and black freedom within our history. And many black youth under the age of 15 can scarcely comprehend the hatred and invective that was showered against him when he was engaged in that struggle to desegregate the most *apartheid*-like city in America.

Martin was disappointed in his fellow white clergy who had chosen to remain silent in the fight against American racism. "We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed," Martin observed. "I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, 'Wait.'"

Martin's answer to his white critics who urged temporary acceptance of Jim Crow regulations was uncompromising. He declared: "When you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son asking in agonizing pathos: 'Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?'; when your first name becomes 'nigger' and your middle name becomes 'boy' (however old you are) and your last name becomes 'John,' and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title 'Mrs.'...then

you will understand why we find it difficult to wait."

The philosophical justification for deliberately breaking Jim Crow restrictions was found in the critical distinction between "just and unjust laws." Drawing from Saint Augustine, Martin argued that "a just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law." Since segregation laws degraded the human personality of both the oppressor and the oppressed, it was the true Christian's duty to violate the oppressor and the oppressed, it was the true Christian's duty to violate Jim Crow laws openly, while accepting the penalty for his action. "I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice," Martin concluded, "is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law."

The strength of black religion is found in the intimate relationship between spirituality and struggle. The expression of black faith within a traditionally racist and oppressive society assumes a political and social character, a commitment toward a better life for the black masses. Martin's legacy, "Letter from Birmingham Jail," would be a fitting and just closing statement to our understanding of Biblical thought.

Manning Marable writes regularly for *In These Times*. He teaches at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.

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War in Lebanon

Continued from page 9.

in Israel. The UN counters that there has been a great reduction in infiltration, and points out that successful Palestinian raiders must also pass through Haddad's lines, not to mention the border itself, areas from which the UN has been excluded by Israeli policy.

Israel's argument backfires even further when it boasts, as it did on Aug. 3, that a commando group of its own passed through UN-controlled territory on the way to a PLO base northeast of Marjayoun. Officially, the UN denied that the Israelis had passed them, but assuming that they really did, if the "hostile" UN failed to catch them, it is certainly plausible that PLO parties could also sometimes slip through unnoticed. For the record, the UN report enumerates "40 major infiltration attempts by armed elements (its euphemism for PLO guerrillas)" stopped in the five month period earlier this year.

The UN does have a clearly hostile attitude towards Haddad and his people, whom it calls "de facto forces." It accuses them of harassing civilians in the UNIFIL area and mounting direct attacks on UN bases. Also, the UN mandate was originally to have extended all the way to the Israeli border.

The Israeli army memo and Rizk eagerly pointed out that most UN casualties in Lebanon have been caused by clashes with the PLO and its supporters to the north. They mean to say that the other side is more of an aggressor, but the argument does seem to contradict the basic claim of UN-PLO collusion.

Israel's most bitter accusation is of the very fact that the UN command maintains correct relations with the PLO, referred to in all official Israeli statements and in most of the press as simply "terrorists." Rationalized by the 1969 Cairo Agreements, the UN allows several

hundred PLO members to remain permanently in its area. But it denies Haddad-Israeli charges that the Palestinians mount operations from within the region.

The Israeli military source, though critical of the government's bombing raid policy for tactical reasons, and expressing the conviction that Israel had missed its chance to reach agreement with West Bank Palestinians soon after 1967, before they came under PLO influence, could still only conceive of military answers to the problem: the PLO must be hit as hard as possible and pushed north, he said.

Another Metullan reacted angrily when I meekly suggested that perhaps the PLO was capable of changing and becoming an important partner for peace. "You don't live near the border within range of their artillery," was the gist of the argument. "Moderate-sounding PLO statements are a bluff, they can never be trusted..." The argument may be circular, but most Israelis believe it, forgetting that only two years ago, the same kind of statements about Egypt and Anwar Sadat himself were almost as common.

Israel has second thoughts about Haddad.

The reservist in Metulla was an exception, however. "Arafat certainly represents the Palestinians more than Haddad represents the South Lebanese," he said cynically, calling "Free Lebanon" a "passing stage," part of Israel's attempt to institute some form of permanent control over the region.

"Israel must decide what it wants," he went on, "a small Jewish state that might be able to make peace with its neighbors, taking certain risks along the way, or a futile attempt at empire, with colonial rule over large numbers of Arabs who don't want us." He expressed his



Major-General Emmanuel Erskine from Ghana (left), the commander of the UN Interim force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) meeting with Yasir Arafat, chairman of the PLO (center), and James O.C. Jonah of the Secretary-General's office (right).

belief that the army is getting frustrated by the lack of a political plan to end the stalemate, and rejected the common perspective that sees only continued war against the PLO, a war that can never be won decisively.

Even part of the Israeli establishment seems to be having second thoughts about the alliance with Haddad, at least on tactical grounds. Chaim Herzog, who served as Israel's UN ambassador under the current and previous governments, and recently returned to active membership in the opposition Labor Party, told a radio interviewer on Aug. 4 that he believes UNIFIL to be "relatively effective in preventing terror incidents," and

accused Haddad and "some Israeli officers" in the region of "dictating policy" to Jerusalem. Haddad and "those who direct him," according to Herzog, are "seriously lacking in political wisdom," causing unnecessary friction with the UN.

Pressure by the U.S. and Egypt may induce Israel to cool its aggressiveness in South Lebanon, and perhaps to even abandon Haddad. But restoration of peace in Lebanon, even without a total resolution of its intertwined class, ethnic and religious divisions, probably depends on a comprehensive settlement in the whole region, involving the other countries as well as Israel and Egypt, and especially the Palestinians.

THE BATTLE OF CLEVELAND: Public Interest Challenges Corporate Power

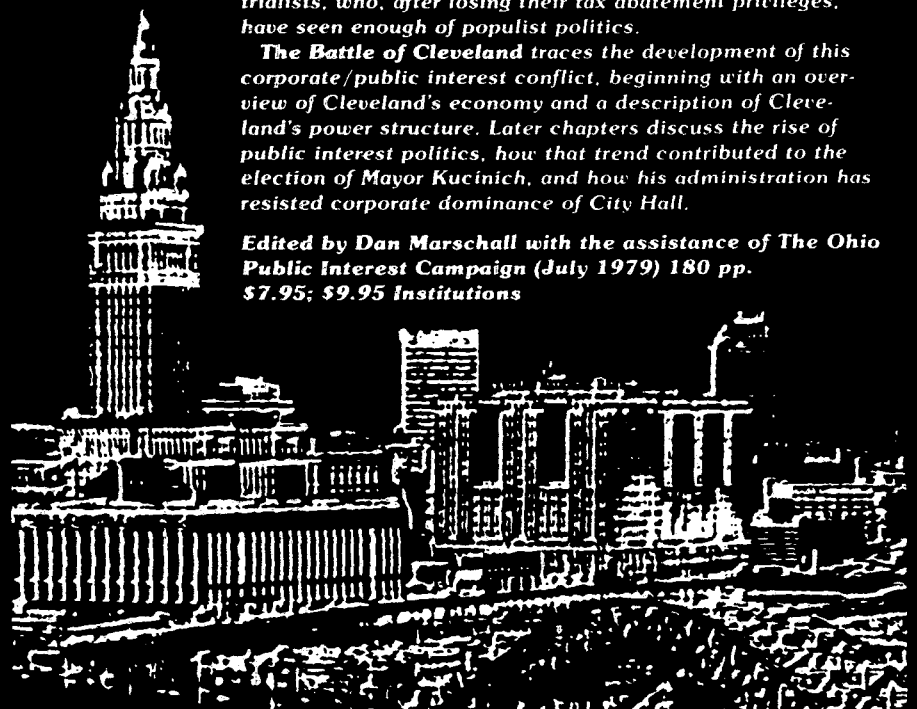
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Edited by Dan Marschall with the assistance of The Ohio Public Interest Campaign (July 1979) 180 pp. \$7.95; \$9.95 Institutions



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LIFE IN THE U.S.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT



While the Governmental Development Bank advertises a skilled and docile labor force (right), high unemployment makes for long afternoons of dominoes (left) for many.

Puerto Rico has a pipeline to poverty

By Ramon F. Daubon

TAKE A GENERATION OF schoolchildren in an underdeveloped region of any country. Almost overnight, replace their teachers with foreigners who speak and teach in a strange language, every morning make them pledge allegiance to a foreign flag, teach them about great heroes with foreign names and from foreign places, tell them about great events of a foreign history, glorify to them the great art and literature and technology produced by a foreign culture, and give them a government whose power lies in foreign hands and which responds to unseen signals from a foreign land.

Do all this to successive generations of schoolchildren, only ever so slowly relaxing the barrage. Then, after almost 70 years, ask these many generations what they think of themselves, of their own land, of their own culture, of their own people, of their own capabilities. Ask them to choose between fending for themselves, feeding themselves, finding courage to face the world for themselves... or remain protected, fed, and isolated from the turbulent bloodstream of the life of peoples.

In 1898 American troops were joyfully received as liberators in Puerto Rico during the Spanish-American War. In the 1950s and '60s, the island's formerly backward agricultural economy experienced an impressive surge of industrial progress while many Puerto Ricans migrated to the U.S. in search of better opportunities. In 1952 Puerto Ricans accepted a pact of permanent association with the U.S., proposed to them by Congress, and in 1967 this "Commonwealth" form of association was roundly approved in a three-way plebiscite over statehood and independence.

This, in a nutshell, is the official history of Puerto Rico. It is not the real one.

The U.S. had its eye on Puerto Rico from the start. Official U.S. policy had as early as the 1620s declared the Antilles to be part of this country's sphere of control. After the U.S. Civil War, President Grant became "obsessed" (to quote Henry Adams) with acquiring for his country control over the island of Hispaniola.

Why were the Antilles so important? Once Panama became the crucial link between the East and West coasts of North America, all sea traffic from the Pacific had to go by the Antilles. Puerto Rico had been of immense value to Spain (as attested to by the massive fortifications constructed there) as the gateway to the Indies. It was the last sentry and

The U.S. abolished Spanish as the island's official language, and renamed it "Porto Rico."

safe haven protecting the valuable traffic from South America (then portaged across Panama) and from Mexico. The British had once even offered Spain to trade Gibraltar for it.

The Cuban insurrection of 1895-98 was the excuse for the U.S. to gain control over the Antilles. Cuba was imperial Spain's Vietnam. Some 200,000 men, the largest expeditionary force ever until then assembled, were quagmired before a determined guerrilla resistance and an

enormous internal protest at home. In the U.S., the War Department and sugar interests sold the American public intervention, billing it as a question of human dignity. The suspicious explosion aboard the USS Maine in Havana harbor was just the trigger on an already loaded gun.

The invasion of Puerto Rico was personally led by the Supreme Commander of the U.S. Armed Forces, Gen. Nelson A. Miles, in a desperate race against the calendar to occupy the island before the

Spanish had a chance to surrender to Washington.

Spain finally surrendered. Cuba, the excuse for American intervention, was given independence a few years later, though severely conditioned. But the shipping routes on both sides of Cuba had to be protected, and the U.S. kept for itself Guantanamo Bay toward the East and the Isle of Pines toward the West. The latter was turned over to Cuba in the 1920s after it had proven unfit for a military base and as a major concession to Cuban protest, accompanied by much fanfare of good-neighborism.

Puerto Rico was kept. The Americans had been given a liberator's welcome upon landing in the island, and Gen. Miles' proclamation and offer of "liberty" had been taken to heart. But disappointment came quickly. Demands for

Continued on page 20.

Navy bombards small island

By William Rose

VIEQUES, PUERTO RICO

The thump of the naval cannons, followed by the earth-shaking thuds as the shells hit the impact areas, as they are known in military jargon, can be heard here almost every day.

This small island, six miles off the eastern coast of Puerto Rico's main island, is used by the Navy for target practice. This has pockmarked a large area with huge craters and filled the surrounding waters with unexploded shells. Casualties so far have been the local fishing industry (the island's main source of income), cattle who wander onto the firing range and the inhabitants' dignity, national pride and peace of mind.

"How can we raise our children in a healthy way with shells crashing into our land and jets flying so low they interrupt classes in the school?" asked a speaker at a recent rally in Isabel Segunda, the largest town on the island.

"How can you avoid a feeling of claustrophobia when you are compressed into a tiny area between two huge bases? It's a wonder we're still sane."

In 1940 the U.S. expropriated 26,000 of the 33,000 *cuerdas* (a *cuerda* is 3.93 square meters) that comprise the island of Vieques, forcing the inhabitants of those areas to relocate in the minuscule area left to the *viequeses* or abandon the island entirely. The same thing took place in the neighboring island of Culebra and at many places on the main island of Puerto Rico.

The confiscated land was then turned into U.S. military bases. Vieques was the staging area for the 1965 U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic.

Since then the approximately 9,000 native inhabitants of this island have been attempting to scrape a living out of the land left to them (the best land is naturally that occupied by the U.S. military) and by fishing.

Puerto Rico as a whole has a standard of living less than half that of the poorest state in the U.S.—Mississippi—with unemployment at an official 30 percent and 60 percent of the population existing on food stamps. However, conditions here make those on the *isla grande*, as the *viequeses* refer to the main island, seem opulent. Vieques, which at one time had four sugar mills producing 20,000 tons of sugar a year, is now a typical example of the squalor produced by one of the most blatant examples of colonialism in the world today.

On Feb. 6, 1978, a handful of fishermen sailed their small boats into the area where Operation Springboard was being conducted by the U.S. and its NATO allies. The action was so successful that the maneuvers had to be called off.

"They sent out a number of small boats to harass us and on one of them the motor failed," one man told me. "The waves were carrying it toward the rocks so we had to rescue the sailor."

"He was very grateful and the other sailors cheered when we put him on board one of their warships. We're not like them; we can't just watch a man die

in front of our eyes and do nothing about it."

The fishermen have been hurt badly by the shelling. Fish and other forms of marine life have been scared away from the area or destroyed. An already hazardous profession has been made even more dangerous by unexploded shells that are occasionally snared in fishing nets.

"We live in a constant state of anxiety over the lives of our husbands," said Migda Maldonado in an interview in the first issue of the bulletin published by the fishermen's association, *Pescadores Unidos de Vieques*.

"As parents we are worried by the knowledge that their planes carry bombs," continued Maldonado, referring to a recent incident in which a remote-controlled "drone" jet crashed near the town of Esperanza. "With these planes continually flying over our schools, who can guarantee the safety of our children?"

Maldonado is one of the spokespersons for the organization of the wives of fishermen, the *Comite de Esposas de Pescadores*.

On March 3, 1978, the *Cruzada Pro-Rescate de Vieques* (Crusade for Reclaiming Vieques) was founded, co-ordinating resistance to the U.S. military. The *Cruzada* is made up of members of every major political party in Puerto Rico, from the pro-statehood *Partido Nuevo Progresista* (PNP) to the *Partido Socialista Puertorriqueno* (PSP).

William Rose teaches Spanish at the Herbert H. Lehman College, CUNY.

Poverty

Continued from page 19.

independence presented by the platforms of successive majority parties were first politely postponed and later authoritatively snuffed by the absolute veto power of the colonial administration. The colonial administration also kept for itself direct control over two key government sectors: the judicial system (including, of course, the police forces) and the educational system.

Deculturation.

The U.S. military establishment (to which Puerto Rico "legally" belonged until 1952 when it became the property of Congress) quickly built up its bases around the island until over 10 percent of the cultivable land was used for military installations. Meanwhile, a conscious policy of deculturation of Puerto Ricans was aggressively pursued.

Spanish was abolished as the official language of government and the courts. For reasons beyond anybody's grasp, even the name of the island was changed to "Porto Rico." English became the language of education, a pedagogical monstrosity that produced several generations of Puerto Ricans who were neither fluent in English nor able to communicate in their own mother tongue at a level above that of colloquial conversation.

This "civilizing" process was entrusted to primary and secondary school teachers recruited from the U.S. hinterland and imbued with a sense of mission. Even the use of the Puerto Rican flag and anthem became prohibited.

The new colonial government did improve on the Spanish colonial administration in the provision of social services; and in roads, railroads and schools the performance was particularly impressive. But the schools drilled into pupils a blind devotion to the new culture, and economic infrastructure facilitated the takeover of the island's agriculture by American sugar companies.

Continued demands for independence



The "showcase for democracy" formula was to boost production and to export the poor people. It worked for a few and for a while.

during the 1910s, and the danger that World War I represented for the Panama Canal and the shipping routes that used it, prompted the White House and the War Department to pressure Congress into passing the Jones Act of 1917, granting U.S. citizenship to Puerto Ricans on a voluntary basis. Up until then Puerto Ricans were not citizens of any place.

Massacres and deals.

Dismay through the 1920s over a conscious policy for the annihilation of the Puerto Rican national will prompted a segment of the independence movement to assume a more militant posture. Political repression of this unaccustomed bravado was ostensibly restrained, though quietly escalated. Quietly, that is, until March 21, 1937. On that day a deliberately peaceful rally of the leftist Nationalist Party in the main square of the city of Ponce was surrounded on all sides by

heavily armed police, who at a signal opened fire into the crowd. When the smoke had cleared 22 persons lay dead or dying and more than 150 were wounded. Repeated investigations of the incident by U.S. and Puerto Rican authorities failed to come up with a satisfactory explanation, much less a culprit. Acts of violent reprisal escalated, and the leadership of the Nationalist Party was thereafter sought out and imprisoned for inciting open rebellion.

The Labor Party, a socialist-leaning entity heavily influenced by American trade unionism, distrusted the two other parties as unresponsive to the specific needs of workers and used its minority weight to seek political alliances. Thus in the 1930s an incongruous socialist-rightist coalition came to power on a pro-statehood platform, to be narrowly unseated only in 1940 by a revitalized opposition. The latter rode again on its old platform of transitory autonomy and ultimate independence, but now added a new name and an elaborate program of social and economic reform—inspired by Washington New Dealers—that won over the socialist vote. That same Popular Democratic Party swept the following elections in 1944 and '48, but a major change was in the offing.

What sort of a deal was struck between the leadership of the Popular Democratic Party and the Truman administration may never be publicly known. Suddenly a formerly moderate but pro-independence party became a fierce attacker of independence; a former vindicator of national values became content with only the recognition of Spanish as the official language—jointly with English—a former advocate of complete freedom settled for minor concessions on local autonomy and an elected governorship; and a program of internally directed economic and social reform was replaced by a public relations campaign of incentives to outside investors to take advantage of the cheap local labor.

Government propaganda against the Nationalists, and the emergence of the politically more moderate though socially innovative Popular Democratic Party, had neutralized the Nationalists during the 1940s. It wasn't until the 1950s and the political turning away of the Popular Democratic Party from independence that the Nationalists in desperation again dominated the news.

In 1950 there was a violent attack on the governor's mansion, the taking of the town of Jayuya, and the parallel attacks on President Truman at Blair House and the U.S. House of Representatives. Again the Nationalist leadership and other potentially dangerous elements were rounded up. This time it was seemingly effective, although other underground groups have since surfaced to take its place.

Economy vs. people.

Once the deal was struck between Tru-

man and the Popular Democrats, the plan to fortify agriculture through innovative land reform, while building an industrial base through state-directed enterprises, was quietly scrapped. Local efforts concentrated on investment promotion and the building of economic infrastructure, all for the benefit of the investors. Agriculture was orphaned, so that the livelihood of the majority of the population became less and less able to absorb its resident labor force. Promoted industries could not possibly absorb more than a fraction of the surplus labor force.

The government's solution to the problem was devastatingly simple: to increase income per capita, one must increase output (even if foreign owned) and reduce as much as possible the number of heads; one must import high-income people and export those with the lowest income-generating potential. One fourth to one third of the island's population was herded off to migrant labor camps and the urban slums of the U.S.

The island's economy boomed. Banking on its preferential access to U.S. markets, lower labor costs, and a sweetener package of tax holidays and government provided plant sites, the new colonial government succeeded in attracting large numbers of investors. Industrial output climbed dramatically and living standards increased substantially through the '50s and early '60s, assisted by a relatively well-implemented program of social services.

The industrial labor force that was being offered to investors had to be well-fed, well-housed, and kept healthy. The showcase of American democracy was working splendidly, and the U.S. State Department proudly arranged to have thousands of official guests from less-developed countries paraded through the industrial parks, the schools, the public housing projects.

But a system based on outside-owned capital could not be self-sustaining. As outside owners came to have title or claim over the large majority of things of value on the island, the flow of repatriated earnings increased proportionately. To keep a positive inflow of capital every year to fuel its industrial expansion, Puerto Rico had to import ever larger amounts to offset the ever-growing outflow. The more successful it was one year, the harder it would be to be successful in the next. It had to run ever faster just to keep up with itself. This could not possibly work for long. It did not.

By the early 1970s industrial growth had slowed to a plod, and the oil crisis of late 1973 badly shook the already weakened energy-dependent economy. It still moves along in jolts and stalls, motored by a sagging industry, a dying agriculture, the capricious vagaries of the tourist trade and, most significantly, massive injections of U.S. assistance to keep it afloat.

This model of development could not provide a home for more than two-thirds of its citizens. Unemployment is estimated between 20 and 30 percent despite one of the world's lowest labor force participation rates. Its citizens own only a minority of their own country's assets, and production and marketing at all levels are directly or indirectly controlled from outside. At least 60 percent of the population depends to some degree on handouts. And this occurs while labor, land, and even installed capital are grossly underused.

The extent of psychological dependence on this vital pipeline has now reached hysterical proportions among the population. It brought to power in 1976 a pro-statehood government whose campaign unabashedly exploited the fear of losing this umbilical cord. But this connection only strengthens the dynamics of the process whereby Puerto Rican society regresses toward a fetal stage, rather than progressing to maturity. Any separation will be extremely painful; it may even be too late now.

This American example of benevolence toward Latin American and the rest of the third world is in deep trouble. It will stay above water for only as long as the pumps are manned.

The author is a Puerto Rican economist now living in Washington, D.C.

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FILMS

Italy's New Left is all bluejeans, sex in Fellini allegory

By Lynn Garafola

Orchestra Rehearsal, Fellini's made-for-TV latest release, marks a new departure for the master of neo-realism. Nothing less than an allegory of contemporary Italian politics, it reflects the rightward drift of Italian society in the wake of the Moro kidnapping and continuing "terrorism" in the country's streets. (See Diana Johnston's report on Italy's ultra-left, last week, and pp. 10-11 this week.)

In a converted thirteenth-century religious hall, an orchestra meets to rehearse. A television crew is on hand to record the session. As the five gets underway, Fellini quizzes the musicians about their instruments. Using close-ups and the interview style of television documentary, as drawn from this motley collection of individuals a microcosm of Italian political life and the tensions that threaten to destroy it.

His busy world cleaves along the line of generation. The elders arrive in the clipped hair and dark suits of middle-class respectability. Their younger conferees turn up in jeans and funky hairdos, the international style of the New Left. Instruments, too, mark the generational split. Among the strings, venerable old men sport clothes of romantic formism while angry young men bang at percussion and brass, thrusting the pseudo-classical harmonies of Nino Rota's score with cacophony.

Ruling uneasily from the podium is the conductor. Disciplined and ascetic-looking, he belongs to an international elite that has reaped fortunes from its superior talents. He imposes his will, however, not by talent but by sheer exertion of authority, and when this is challenged, he stages tirades that end, significantly, with military commands in German.

Disorder threatens the smooth course of Fellini's rehearsal on many fronts. The interests of the group are submerged by those of individualist musicians. The orchestra—much like Italian society in the aftermath of the Moro kidnapping—becomes temporarily obsessed with a

mouse scurrying behind an Old Master in need of restoration. Union officials on the take featherbed the orchestra with relatives, and they order breaks for no reason. And finally, violence erupts among the musicians grating under the Teutonic hand of their leader.

As the conductor in his dressing room recalls orchestra discipline of another day, a campus-style uprising breaks out in the hall. Spray-painted slogans decorate the walls while the pianist and a trombonist get it on under the baby grand. An anarchist smashes a giant metronome that has been set up in place of the conductor; the flower-child flautist gets a soda can in her groin; a middle-aged cellist draws a gun and inadvertently shoots the eccentric lady harpist. Violence ceases only when a huge wrecker's ball smashes through one side of the hall.

The conductor returns to the podium and begins another run-through. Tears spring to the eyes of the musicians enraptured anew by their art, and carried, like the audience, by the nostalgic echo of themes from Fellini's own movies to a sphere far removed from the conflicts of the present. But Fellini does not end his allegory on that note of artistic and intellectual synthesis. As the film concludes, the conductor whips himself into yet another Hitlerian frenzy. The cycle of anarchy and repression continues.

Oversimplicity.

Unlike Fellini's other films, which are discursive or even baroque in structure, *Orchestra Rehearsal* is a terse (70-minute) and straightforward comment on Italian politics. It is a superbly crafted film, witty and ironic, and there are luminous moments of characterization. Nevertheless, its value as political commentary is undermined by extreme oversimplification of Italian politics.

Fellini takes shots at strawmen while slighting the social and economic rifts continuing to divide Italian society. Although he does not condone his "strongman," he implies that authority must reestablish itself for pro-

ductive life to go on. In *Orchestra Rehearsal*, Fellini, like many Italians, responds to the spectre of "terrorism" with a liberal plea for social order that ends up almost indistinguishable from the "law and order" platform of the country's growing Right.

The reason for this lies in Fellini's serious misunderstanding of the New Left. For him, as for America's neo-conservatives, the New Left stands primarily for a lifestyle that flouts convention under an anti-Establishment banner. Sex under the piano, blue jeans and lack of discipline signal not only the breakdown of bourgeois society but the collapse of the humanist values from which Europe's intellectual and cultural tradition springs. Fellini sees youth violence of the late '60s and '70s not as an expression of political anger, but as the rampages of adolescents infatuated with violence.

Thus, *Orchestra Rehearsal* offers no hint of the profound discontent that shaped Italy's New Left: the breakdown of the university system, rising expectations dashed by widespread unemployment, major demographic shifts, disillusionment with the older parties of the Left perceived as being insensitive to the needs of the country's youth. In Fellini's mind, the New Left is not merely the breeding ground for "terrorism," but its principal cause.

Orchestra Rehearsal expresses not only disillusionment with political process but with the very possibility of change. Fellini sees Italian society as an arena where anarchic violence and fascist-style authority contend for mastery. But he also sees this not as a dialectical process leading to change, but metaphysically, as a cycle endlessly repeating itself. Rehearsal without performance is sterile. So too is Fellini's prognosis for Italy's future.

Orchestra Rehearsal is available from New Yorker Films, 16 W. 61st St., NYC 10023.



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CULTURE SHOCK

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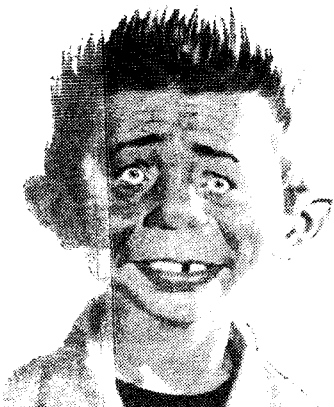
AMERICAN INGENUITY

Dallas police report the latest answer to odd-even license plate control of gas allotments: an increase in theft of license plates, stolen to suit the day.

YES, ME WORRY!

Alfred E. Neuman of *Mad* magazine has come out against nu-

clear power, appearing on the cover of the latest issue with his hair standing on end and sweat pouring from his brow.



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POPULAR MUSIC



By Bruce Dancis

Imitating the Beatles

— A payday in the life

Though it seems like only yesterday to many of us, the Beatles broke up almost ten years ago. While rock has survived without them, no doubt to the surprise and dismay of the early '70s "Rock is Dead" theorists, there has been a continual search for the "New Beatles." Mercenary reasons account for much of the inspiration behind this quest, but it also reflects a genuine sense of loss over the warmth, humor, spirit, and beauty of the Beatles' music.

It quickly became apparent that two of the Beatles could not in isolation reach the heights they had as members of the band. Both Ringo Starr and George Harrison have produced solo albums throughout this decade, but with the exception of an occasional isolated song, it is hard to imagine either of them securing a record contract had they not been heirs to a great legacy.

John Lennon and Paul McCartney have, not unexpectedly (since they wrote and sang most of the Beatles' songs), made more of an impact. In the early '70s Lennon recorded half a dozen inventive albums. By the middle of the decade, however, he had moved into reclusive retirement, living on a farm in upstate New York with Yoko Ono and their children.

Paul McCartney has been by far the most commercially successful ex-Beatle, both from the records and tours he has made with his band, Wings, and through some spectacular investments giving him the copyrights to hundreds of memorable songs, including "Autumn Leaves," "Stormy Weather," and "Rave On."

Unfortunately, his ability to make a buck is about the only aspect of the Beatles heritage that McCartney has genuinely continued. Wings has always functioned as his back-up band, and its most recent album *Back to the Egg* (Columbia) is typical of McCartney's post-Beatles output.

Its best songs, "Getting Closer" and "To You" are catchy and sweet, but they evaporate quickly from one's memory. McCartney has always been partial to such lightweight fluff—remember his rendition of "Till There Was You" on *Meet the Beatles?*—but without the solidifying influence of Lennon, nothing restrains McCartney's penchant for producing the icing while forgetting the cake.

Meet the Knack.

Although other bands have attempted to make a mid-'60s sound reminiscent of the Beatles', only in 1979 has a full-blown pretender to the vacant throne emerged. The band is called the Knack, a four-piece group from Los Angeles.

The Knack is the success story of 1979. Formed a little over a year ago, their debut album, *Get the Knack* (Capitol), and their first single, "My Sharona," are currently sitting simultaneously at the Number One positions on the *Billboard* charts. *Get the Knack* "went gold" (sold 500,000 copies) in 13 days; in the history

The only album that ever "went gold" faster than the Knack was the first U.S. Beatles lp. Are they slick imitators, or do they bring new energy to rock?

of Capitol Records, only *Meet the Beatles*, the Beatles' debut American lp, went gold faster. By the end of a mere seven weeks, *Get the Knack* was certified "platinum" (1 million copies sold) and is still selling rapidly.

The Knack, with the joyous concurrence of Capitol Records, possesses sufficient chutzpah to declare themselves to be the latter-day successors to the Fab Four. The title of their album bears an obvious resemblance to *Meet the Beatles*. On the back side of their album cover and in live performances, they use a stage set lifted straight out of *A Hard Day's Night*. Everything is brightly lit black on white, from each band member's white shirt with black pants, black ties and black shoes (like the early Beatles, they too have uniforms)



to the black amplifiers set against a plain white background.

The Knack have obviously spent a lot of time listening to mid-'60s rock and they have the genre down cold, from the clean sound of the guitars to lead singer Doug Fieger's clearly enunciated vocals. The Knack has combined the melodic bounce of the Beatles with some of the intensity and speed of New Wave rock. (By the way, the recent commercial success of performers such as Blondie and Joe Jackson has finally encouraged U.S. record companies to sign New Wave acts and enter into distribution deals with British labels featuring New Wave groups.) They've been able to revise and update the Beatles sound, not merely rehash it.

In addition to mammoth record sales, the Knack's quick rise

has provoked an unprecedented counter-reaction. One enterprising California anti-Knacker has even produced a "Knuke the Knack Sack" composed of "Knuke the Knack" t-shirts, buttons, and stickers. The demand for such paraphernalia is tremendous, particularly on the West Coast.

Sacred memory.

Some of this hostility can be attributed to a desire to protect the memory of the Beatles. Never has a new band made such a public, not to say conceited, comparison of itself to a group with the stature of the Beatles. The Knack's music, whatever its merits, never approaches the brilliance of the Beatles'.

New Wave adherents, in particular, are upset by the Knack's climbing up on the back of their "movement." While some of the hostility can be written off as simple jealousy, the Knack obviously violates key New Wave tenets such as the celebration of spontaneity and an aversion to hype.

Some estimate that Capitol Records has spent around \$1 million pushing the Knack, including the purchase of "Get the Knack" ads on the backs and sides of Los Angeles buses. Still, the Knack's sudden surge cannot be attributed solely, or even largely to, Capitol's capital. The Beatles invented a rock music with enormously captivating qualities. To the extent that the Knack have done their homework, their popularity is understandable.

But the Knack's slick and calculated image leaves one with the feeling that their first album should have been called "I Want To Mold My Band."

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MUSIC

The festival that works for artists, public, city

ChicagoFest had been pooh-poohed as bread and circuses for suburbanites. But this time it became a truly popular festival with Chicagoans—and with their mayor.

By Don McLeese

For the second straight year, ChicagoFest—a municipally-sponsored lakefront music festival—surpassed all expectations. For 10 days, the city of Chicago presented over 300 acts, attracted an attendance of nearly 700,000, earned a profit of around half a million dollars, and promoted an incalculable amount of good will. By almost any standard, the Fest has emerged, as its publicity releases state, as “the biggest music event in the nation.” What was last year an experiment has established itself as an institution.

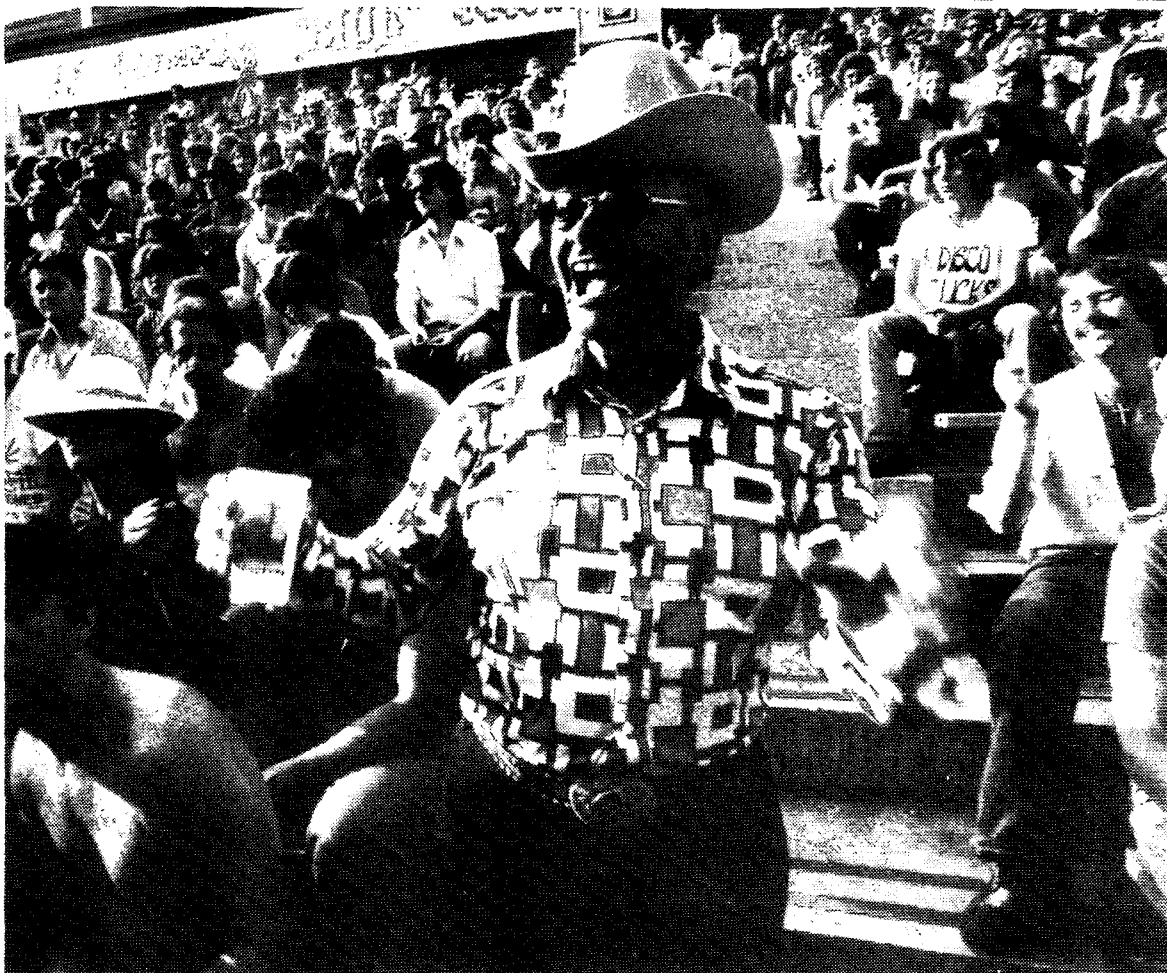
What business has the city of Chicago presenting a music festival? That’s what Mayor Jane Byrne asked herself shortly after her election last March. Attempting to erase all vestiges of former mayor (and arch political rival) Michael Bilandic’s reign, Byrne threatened to cancel the Fest. She claimed that the event had cost far too much in terms of labor and money, that it was more popular among suburbanites and out-of-towners than among city dwellers, that the city would be better served by a series of less ambitious neighborhood festivals. An immediate and insistent public outcry convinced Byrne that she had made a major political miscalculation. Without abandoning her plan for neighborhood celebrations, she made sure that what had been previously known as “Mayor Bilandic’s ChicagoFest” was quickly redesigned to become the highlight of “Mayor Byrne’s Summertime Chicago.”

It was a wise reversal. With eight stages operating continuously for nearly 10 hours a day, the Fest offered a diverse blend of headliners, curiosities and promising local talent. On one evening alone, listeners were forced to choose among Willie Nelson, Gil Scott-Heron, Sam & Dave, Albert King, Don McLean, and the Flying Burrito Brothers—all appearing on different stages at the same time.

Little wonder that so many Chicagoans considered the Fest an entertainment bargain. For an admission price of \$5 per day (\$3.50 in advance), one could wander between stages from noon until midnight. For those who tired of the sheer amount of music, the Fest also offered a cinema showcase, a roller-skating rink, a disco, a pinball arcade, and special areas for children and senior citizens.

Artists and businessmen.

For local performers, ChicagoFest represented a dream showcase opportunity. In addition to another payday (and a fairly equitable one), the Fest exposed artists to larger and more diverse audiences than they ordinarily reach. Bruce Iglauer, owner of Chicago-based Alligator Records and manager of many of the acts that appeared on the blues stage, said the Fest was valuable for his performers because “so many people come from out-of-town or the suburbs or are too young to be served booze (in the clubs) and wouldn’t have a chance to see our artists otherwise.” With the overflow crowds at the consistently popular blues stage, local standouts like Fenton



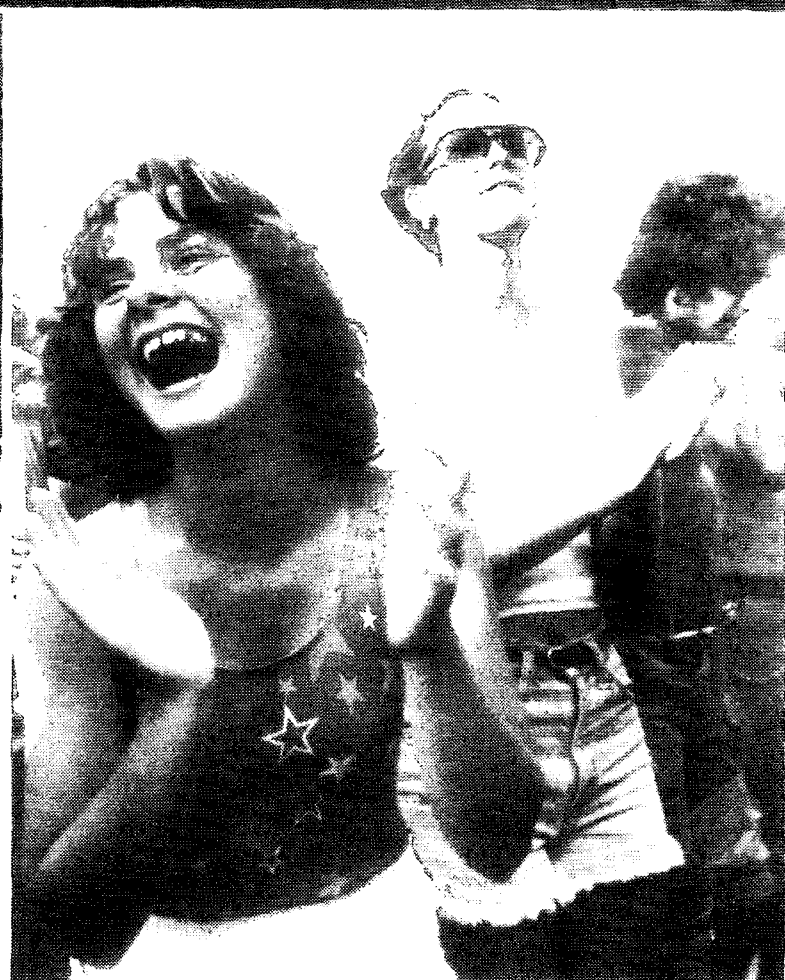
Upper right: Albert Collins. Above: Koko Taylor.

Robinson and Son Seals reached more people in an hour than they might in weeks of working the club grind.

For participating Chicago businesses, ChicagoFest was a bonanza. A local newspaper and various radio stations reaped promotional benefits by associating themselves with Fest stages and services. The beer companies sponsoring many of the stages were rewarded with sales of around a million and a half cups. Fest food was provided by a cross-section of Chicago restaurants.

The city of Chicago benefited as well. While there was some debate over how much the Fest in '78 cost the city—guesses range from “just about broke even” to a loss of \$900,000—there’s no question that the '79 Fest made money. Furthermore, with practically every downtown hotel offering some sort of package, the Fest has become a tourist attraction, pouring thousands of dollars into the city. Finally, the Fest indicates to the Chicago populace, cynical from so many years of corruption and cynicism, that the city of Chicago is interested in more than just picking the pockets of its constituency. For at least 10 days a year, the city gives something back.

Not that there isn’t room for improvement. A major com-



plaint from the musicians concerned the sound. More than one act had flown in its own sound man, only to be told all the boards were to be run by Chicago engineers. David MacKenzie, who was plagued by interference throughout his folk stage set, maintained, “There’s no reason as long as they were so professional about everything else, that they can’t be professional about the sound.”

A more serious problem was overcrowding. Because the Fest’s existence had been imperiled, promoters relied on a “blockbuster” approach—booking a few big names who would guarantee a huge draw. A final day appearance by the group Chicago amassed a total crowd of 120,000, which left little room for breathing, let alone listening to music.

The Fest now must decide whether its function is to be truly representative or overwhelmingly popular (and profitable). While

this year’s ChicagoFest took a “bigger is better” approach, an ideal Fest would more effectively mirror Chicago’s diverse musical heritage—interspersing headliners and promising pop-oriented talent with the gospel choruses, salsa bands, Irish fiddlers and others who represent Chicago’s musical vibrancy. While some stages reflected adventurous booking policies, others seemed to operate from a “business as usual” perspective—booking only the predictable, professional, “safe” acts whose agency affiliations were their major recommendation.

The previously lukewarm Mayor Byrne, now basking in the Fest’s success, is already talking up the possibility of an AutumnFest and a WinterFest. A series of free outdoor jazz concerts will be held the last week in August, and other city-sponsored musical activities are in the works.

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DIXIE DIVERS

By Sarah Hughes

SOME OF THE TOP U.S. SWIMMERS now come from the South. Of this year's 10 ranking men's college teams (NCAA), half are southern schools, while among the 10 best women's college teams (AIAW), six represent the South. But the real champions haven't gotten to college yet. Tracy Caulkins, of Nashville Aquatic Club, at 16, is the premier swimmer in the U.S., holding two world and four American records. Another young southern woman, Kim Linehan of the Sarasota Y Sharks, holds the American record time in the 1650 yard freestyle. Breaststroker Steve Lundquist, a high school senior from Jonesboro, Ga., set two new U.S. records this year. Only California rivals the southern states in producing new swimming talent.

These exceptional swimmers have come out of the rapidly expanding network of local swimming programs of the past decade—a phenomenon closely related to the growth of the Sun Belt's military-industrial complex.

The region's countless summer leagues draw thousands into the sport in a brief season and provide the recruiting ground for serious athletes willing to practice one or more hours, five or six days a week, month after month. Some summer teams spring from public pools, but southern teams have proliferated in the private pools of new subdivisions. The closing of public pools to circumvent de-

segregation in some areas undercut a historically weak regional commitment to public recreation facilities.

YWCA and YMCA pools were never strong in the South. Country club pools have lost their swimming monopoly to the larger pools of the suburban subdivisions, but boys and girls who grow up in the central or on the working class side of town have few opportunities to join a swim team. And rural children are almost entirely excluded. For these reasons, black swimmers are as rare as black tennis and soccer players. Swimming lessons organized as part of locally or federally funded efforts, such as the National Youth Summer Sports Programs, offer barely enough water time to teach self preservation.

Lacking a broad community base, year-round swimming assumes a sharper class and racial bias than summer competition. Exclusive daily use of an outdoor pool for several hours and one or more paid coaches do not come cheaply and must be supported by membership dues. Add to this the cost of suits, goggles, meet fees and travel to out-of-town races. Expenses for a serious swimmer of 10 to 15 years old, in one of the less expensive clubs, amount to at least \$350 a year. Expenses for local champions who attend meets are far higher.

Other factors skew participation. Swimming requires more officiating than most sports. An AAU sanctioned meet must have three timers, mechanical or human, on every lane for each event.

Referees, starters, stroke and turn judges, scorers, and a host of other officials are required. Nearly 100 people usually work as volunteers at a Saturday meet for 300 to 400 swimmers.

Only a tiny minority of AAU swim clubs own their pools. Besides the Y's and city recreation departments, pools are found at colleges and military bases. The tradition of swimming is strong among military personnel, especially among officer's children, who seldom lack excellent facilities. In any area with a large military population—and there are many in the South—a disproportionate number of high school swim team members will be drawn from this group. The close ties between the military and scientific communities carry over into the sport of swimming and are reflected in the new swimming pool at Huntsville, Ala., near the government's missile research center. Young southern competitive swimmers then come primarily from the white, upper-middle professional classes.

For those with access to the sport, swimming offers relative sexual equality. Teams are composed of approximately equal numbers of each sex. They work closely together, though they do not compete directly against one another in races. Boys and girls train together today both in the weight room and the pool. They swim the same yardage in the same lanes at practice, pushing one another toward faster times. Meets are organized into separate events for boys and girls,

but they are also ranked by age and speed in each stroke. Events for each age follow one another in alternate order, rather than in sex-segregated blocks of time. Coeducation in swimming lasts until college, when it is broken by the conference system based on sex. Neither young girls nor women swim as fast as their male counterparts, either on the average or at record-setting levels, but the gaps between their times have been closing in recent years.

Since 1976, when the American women were demolished in the Olympics by East German swimmers, one major change has taken place in the training of female swimmers: they have been admitted to the weight rooms in early adolescence to take their place with boys in the last male swimming sanctuary. This change removes the final technical barrier to training women swimmers on an equal basis with men. What the physical differences are in the ability of men and women to race over short distances is still an open question.

Though American women are no longer handicapped by fears of unsightly shoulder muscles, social barriers remain. Peer pressure is among the most important of these. More girls under 12 enter swimming than boys, largely because they have fewer alternative organized sports options. As they reach adolescence, the ranks the female swimmers shrink and indecision mars the performance of many who keep a nominal commitment to the sport.

The South's rising competitive swimmers don't come from the old swimming hole anymore but from fancy military base pools.



Bob Heiber/Wilmington News/Journal